

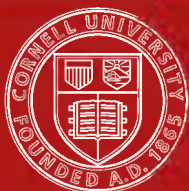
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The American question, and how to settle



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THE AMERICAN QUESTION,

AND

HOW TO SETTLE IT.

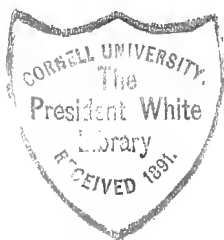


“THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE IS THE HIGHEST LAW.”

LONDON:
SAMPSON LOW, SON, AND CO., 47, LUDGATE HILL.
1863.

[*The right of translation is reserved.*]

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THE AMERICAN QUESTION,

AND

HOW TO SETTLE IT.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

ON the 30th October 1862, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed a despatch to the Ambassador of France at London, and at St. Petersburg, proposing an Armistice between the Northern and Southern States of America, with a view to the mediation of the two great maritime neutral Powers.

The following are a few of the translated paragraphs from that State document:—

“Europe watches with a painful interest the struggle which has been raging for more than a year upon the American Continent. The hostilities have provoked sacrifices and efforts cer-

tainly of a nature to inspire the highest idea of the perseverance and energy of the two populations; but this spectacle which does so much honor to their courage, is only given at the price of numberless calamities and at a prodigious effusion of blood. To these results of a civil war, which from the very first assumed vast proportions, there is still to be added the apprehension of a servile war, which would be the culminating point of so many irreparable disasters.”

* * * * *

“Under the influence of the intimate relations which the extension of intercourse has multiplied between the various regions of the globe, Europe itself has suffered from the consequences of a crisis which dried up one of the most fruitful sources of the public wealth, and which became for the great centres of labor the cause of the most sad trials.

“When the conflict commenced we held it our duty to observe the most strict neutrality, in concert with the other maritime Powers, and the Washington Cabinet has repeatedly acknowledged the honorable manner in which we adhered to that line of conduct. The sentiments which dictated it to us have undergone no change. But the benevolent character of that neutrality, instead of imposing upon the Powers

an attitude which might resemble indifference, ought rather to make them of service to the two parties, by helping them out of a position which seems to have no issue."

* * * * *

"All these circumstances taken together point to the opportunity of an armistice." * *

"The three Cabinets would exert their influence at Washington, as well as with the Confederate States, to obtain an Armistice for six months, during which every act of war, direct or indirect, should provisionally cease on sea as well as on land, and it might be, if necessary, ultimately prolonged.

"These overtures would not imply on our part any judgment on the origin or issue of the struggle, nor any pressure upon the negotiations which might, it is to be hoped, ensue in favor of an Armistice. Our task would consist solely in smoothing down obstacles and in interfering only in the measure determined upon by the two parties. We should not, in fact, believe ourselves called upon to decide, but to prepare the solution of the difficulties which hitherto have opposed a reconciliation between the belligerent parties."

* * * * *

"Should the event not justify the hope of the

three Powers, and should the ardour of the struggle overrule the wisdom of their councils, this attempt would not be the less honorable for them. They would have fulfilled a duty of humanity, more especially indicated in a war in which excited passions render all direct attempts at negotiation more difficult. It is the mission which international law assigns to neutrals, at the same time that it prescribes to them a strict impartiality, and they could never make a nobler use of their influence than by endeavoring to put an end to a struggle which causes so much suffering, and compromises such great interests throughout the whole world.

“Finally, even without immediate results, these overtures would not be entirely useless, for they might encourage public opinion to views of conciliation, and thus contribute to hasten the moment when the return of peace might become possible.” * * *

In the sentiments expressed in this admirable State Paper most impartial minds will concur.

CHAPTER II.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

To doubt the cause of Secession, or to attribute it to anything but Slavery, is to show little acquaintance with the history of the American Union.

That secession of the Southern States from the Northern was an inevitable consequence of such a Union, if slavery had not existed, may be assumed, but that is not the question.

The question is,—What has been the cause of secession ?

The answer is,—Slavery ; and this is the only answer which will bear examination.

Political causes, to be found in conflicting interests arising out of the union of so many and distant States, of different capacities and powers, under one Federal Government, have all operated, but as secondary causes only.

These, in time, without Slavery, must have operated to the disruption of such a Union, and would then have been primary causes.

All these have been hastened in their operation by the baneful effects of Slavery, and the Union is broken for ever.

The mischief, if it be a mischief, is irreparable, and the abolition of Slavery now could not restore the Union. Secondary causes would then be primary, and must prevail. The Union is gone for ever.

No Union, under a Republican form of Government, ever has held together, or ever will hold together, for any great length of time, so great an extent of territory as comprised in the American Union. As population increases, and interests become diverse, the struggle for power will arise and grow, and the machinery of government will become weaker and weaker, until it stops and falls to pieces. Those who look closely into the question will see that, this is a vain attempt to set aside providential laws by human ingenuity.

A purely republican form of government never has endured for any considerable length of time; not that there is any Divine right in a King, but that a constituted head is a Divine institution.

It is quite true that the power is with the People, but it is no less true that they will exercise the power to their own destruction, without a constituted and acknowledged head, whether

King or President, and that he governs only by the will of the People. The Sovereign will cannot long be maintained against the will of a majority, or a large and powerful body, of the People, whether right or wrong. The question of right or wrong affects only the ultimate result of good or evil. It may be right or wrong in a People to remove their chosen Head, but the responsibility is with them, and from that there is no escape. They may elect their Head for a limited time, and may remove him when he is best able to serve them. They may invest him with more or less power,—with too much or too little,—but the responsibility and the consequence is still with them.

If with more power than is compatible with the free exercise of their own right of thought and action, they will certainly soon find themselves in the power of a tyrant: if with less than is required for their own protection against themselves, they will certainly soon find themselves in a state of conflict with each other, which must end in rebellion, and the discomfiture of one party or the other, and the weakest must yield to the strongest.

If they found their Government on a true principle, which in practice they deny, and thereby outrage Divine law and feelings common to hu-

manity, they are like the people who build their houses within reach of the volcano, which, sooner or later will overwhelm and destroy their work, however skilfully laid, and however many years enduring.

If they be a wise people they will never build up again on the same foundation.

If the two cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii had been built beyond the reach of Vesuvius, they might have been standing now, or, at least, they would not have been buried under the burning cinders.

It is trifling to talk of the reversal of the "balance of power"—"embittered feelings"—"endangered interests"—as the cause of the disruption of the American Union. All these are but consequences. The cause is—Slavery. That is the volcano. The balance of power, embittered feelings, endangered interests, are the burning cinders.

It is, no doubt, true that the same consequences would, at a more distant period, have ensued from inherent defects in the Constitution of the United States; but that is another question, now unnecessary to be considered.

It is, perhaps, impossible to hold such a vast extent of territory, with such a diversity of interests, under one Federal Government, as at-

tempted in the United States of America, but it is clearly impossible to do so with the hostile interests let in by Slavery. The only possible settlement of this question is, in the abandonment of Slavery, or of the Union. To restore the Union, with Slavery, by conquest, is impossible; and, if possible, inexpedient for the interest of the States, or any of them. The States which adhere to the institution of Slavery must eventually come to ruin, and must involve more or less in the evil all the States in union with them. It, therefore, becomes an imperative duty in the Free States, not only to separate from the Slave States, but also to define the limits beyond which Slavery shall not extend. This can now be done, and this is all that can now be done.

To show how this can now be done is the object. It is no part of the present purpose to show the truth of what is here assumed. This has been already shown in the very able works of Mr. Spence and Mr. Cairnes, confirmed in all material facts by the native American writer, Mr. Olmsted, in his several works of great value from their practical character. It is unnecessary to repeat arguments and facts so ably put forward by these writers. Each takes his own view different from the other, but in the conclusion they all agree, that to restore and maintain the Union, with Slavery, is now impossible.

Mr. Spence's book is by far the most able which has been written in favor of the Southern interest.

It proves, by unquestioned facts and unanswerable arguments, the injuries which have been inflicted on the Southern States by their union with the Northern ; but it proves that all these injuries have arisen out of the institution of Slavery, and that far greater injuries have been thereby inflicted on all the non-slavery States.

It proves that, the present conflict, on the part of the South is for independence, with the power to maintain and extend the institution of Slavery; and, on the part of the North, for the Union.

It proves that, whichever way the conflict terminates, the continuance of these hostile interests in union is impossible.

It also proves that the Latin proverb—"Vox populi, vox Dei," is something very different from the outcry of the multitude. The proverb rests on the assumption that the foundations of man's convictions are laid in the truth, and that no conviction of universal humanity can rest on an untrue ground; but that the faith of mankind has a reality corresponding to it; for, as Jeremy Taylor has said: "It is not a vain noise, when many nations join their voices in the attestation or detestation of an action;" and Hooker: "The ge-

neral and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God Himself. For that which all men have at all times learned, nature herself must needs have taught; and God being the Author of nature, her voice is but His instrument." (Eccles. Pol. b. 1, § 8.)

As Dean Trench says, in his admirable little book on Proverbs, from which the foregoing quotations are taken;—"The task and difficulty, of course, must ever be to discover what this faith and what these convictions are; and this can only be done by an induction from a sufficient number of facts, and in sufficiently different times, to enable us to feel confident that we have indeed seized that which is the constant quantity of truth in them all, and separated this from the inconstant one of falsehood and error, evermore offering itself in its room; that we have not taken some momentary cry, wrung out by interest, by passion, or by pain, for *the voice of God*; but claimed this august title only for that true voice of humanity, which, unless everything be false, we have a right to assume an echo of the voice of God."*

He takes as an example, the natural horror everywhere felt in regard of marriages contracted between those very near in blood, as a potent

* Trench, on Proverbs, p. 126.

argument against such unions; and although some pagan nations, and savage tribes, have to some extent disregarded this feeling, yet these exceptions can only be looked upon as violations of the divine order of man's life; not as evidences that we have falsely imagined an order where there was none. Here is a true *voice of the people*, and we have a right to assume this to be a *voice of God* as well. This man or that, this generation or the other, might be deceived, but all men and all generations could not; the *vox populi* makes itself felt as a *vox Dei*.

And so of Slavery—no man's testimony in favor of slavery can be worthy of credit, but must be taken as wrung out by interest, or passion; and, because it is against the true voice of humanity, we know it to be false, and we have no right to assume it to be an echo of the voice of God, because it is an outcry of the multitude.

No reasoning can reconcile us to what our instinct repels. There is something in the heart that repels all arguments, all facts, in favor of slavery. We know, by a moral instinct, that a man is a man, and not a chattel, and no philosophy can stifle that voice within us. We want no declaration that all men,—in the common acceptation,—are born equal; we know it from innate conviction.

In this way the evidence of Mr. Spence, his arguments and conclusions, are very valuable, but not altogether in the way which he intended.

Mr. Cairnes is, undoubtedly, the best advocate for the Northern States, against Slavery. His book proves that slave-labor is incompatible with free-labor, and with all human interests;—that the institution of slavery is an outrage against humanity, and must inevitably deteriorate the people engaged in it, or who come in contact with it; that it must ultimately work the ruin of the country,—and work out its own extinction.

Mr. Olmsted's books are valuable for facts; all leading to the same conclusion, and he writes as a practical man, accustomed to the sight of negroes in slavery, and in freedom, from his own observations and experience in America, his native country. He says, in a Letter to a Southern Friend,*—“Comparing Texas with New York, I can speak entirely from personal observation. I believe it is a low estimate, that every dollar of the nominal capital of the substantial farmers of New York represents an amount of the most truly valuable commodities of civilization, equal to five dollars in the nominal wealth of Texan planters. And this, notwithstanding that

* Olmsted, 'Journey through Texas,' p. xii.

the climate of Texas has a great superiority over that of New York or Iowa. I think that the labor of one man in Texas will more easily produce adequate sustenance and shelter for a family and an ordinary farm-stock of working-cattle, than that of two anywhere in the Free States." Again, he observes: "And this, without regard to that quality of the climate which enables the Texan to share in the general monopoly of the South in the production of cotton—a quality so valuable that Texans sell scarcely anything out of the State but cotton, which they even find it profitable to exchange for corn raised in Ohio, and taxed with the expense of a great transportation, and several exchanges. . . . We even saw much white and free labor applied to the culture of cotton with a facility and profit at least equal to that attending the labor of enslaved negroes, at the same distance from market."

With regard to the effects of Slavery in Texas, he thus sums up his evidence:—"All things considered, I believe that the prosperity of Texas, measured by the rapidity with which the inconveniences and discomforts, inevitable only in a wilderness or an uncivilized state of society, are removed, would have been ten times greater than it is, had it been, at the date of its annexation, thrown open, under otherwise equally favor-

able circumstances, to a free immigration, with a prohibition to slavery. I think that its export of cotton would have been greater than it now is; that its demand from, and contribution to, commerce would have been ten times what it now is; that it would possess ten times the length of railroad; ten times as many churches; ten times as many schools, and a hundred times as many school-children as it now has. . . . In the Eastern counties, that spectacle so familiar and so melancholy in all the older Slave States, is already not unfrequently seen by the traveller—an abandoned plantation of ‘worn-out’ fields, with its little village of dwellings, now a home only for wolves and vultures.”

These are but a few specimens of a large class of observations which, as Mr. Olmsted says, justify him “in asserting that the natural elements of wealth in the soil of Texas will have been more exhausted in ten years, and with them the rewards offered by Providence to labor will have been more lessened than, without Slavery, would have been the case in two hundred.”

It thus seems that the economical disadvantages of slave-labor are compensated,—if such can be called compensation,—by fraud and violence, and by consuming the very soil itself at the cost of posterity.

It is, therefore, the only argument steadily and boldly urged in the South for an extension of territory suitable to Slave-labor, and that slavery must be extended in order to preserve the equality of the South in the republic. Southern Editors and orators have constantly declared that it would be a folly to suppose that the South, unless she can retain such an equality, would remain in association with the North.

CHAPTER III.

HOW TO SETTLE IT.

To ascertain the cause of the evil, is the first step to the remedy. In no other way can inquiry into the cause be useful.

In the present case, whether or not any milder remedy than separation, if applied in time, might have been effectual, it is now useless to consider, being clearly now too late.

This is like the case of a mortified limb, and the only remedy is amputation. There is nothing left for it but severance of the dead from the living body. It would have been better if the severance had been earlier; but it is now a question of life or death, and the sooner this question is settled the better. The remedy of severance is very simple, but to effect it may be difficult. But the only difficulty lies in obtaining the sufferers' consent. To obtain this consent, much may depend on the manner of setting about it.

The best way would be by an Armistice, as pro-

posed in the French despatch, to be followed up by the mediation of England and France.

For the Armistice, the consent of the Northern and Southern States alone is required.

For the Mediation, their concurrence with England and France alone is required.

Assuming the object of the mediation to be, as it ought to be, the perpetual severance of the Free from the Slave States, and the establishment of both on terms of equal independent sovereignty, all that remains is only matter of detail.

If the contending parties settle it between themselves—which they never will—then there is an end of the question. But if the settlement is to be through the mediation of Foreign Powers, then it is proposed that the mediation should be conducted in some such way as the following:—

1. Commissioners to be appointed by the Northern States:—the like number by the Southern States:—the like number by Canada:—the like number by Great Britain:—the like number by France.

In case of difference, Great Britain to appoint the Umpire.

2. The Commissioners, so appointed, to define and fix the Boundary Line of Canada, across the Northern part of the State of Maine, so as to unite Canada with New Brunswick.

The same Commissioners to define and fix the Boundary Line between the Northern and the Southern States of America, about $36^{\circ} 30''$ latitude north, across from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.

The decision of the majority of the Commissioners to be final.

In case of difference, with equal numbers, the decision of the Umpire, appointed by Great Britain, to be final.

3. Any Slave setting foot on free soil to be free. This Law to be perpetual, and every Law to the contrary to be repealed, and declared null and void.

4. The Navigation of all Rivers, Lakes, Harbors, and Seaboard of Canada and the Northern and Southern States, to be open and free.

5. Canada and the States of the North and South respectively to be independent sovereignties, and subject only to their own respective Governments.

6. Canada and the States of the North and South to be governed respectively by their own Laws, but no duty of Customs or Excise to be imposed, levied, on raised, on any goods exported from, or imported into, Canada, or any of the States of the Northern or Southern Union.

This Law to be perpetual, and every Law to

the contrary to be repealed, and declared null and void.

7. Each independent State to bear its own Debt, and the rights of all persons to be acknowledged and respected.

8. Any difference arising in the settlement of these details, or any of them, to be finally determined by the Commissioners, or by the Umpire, so appointed as aforesaid.

Such is the outline of the proposed settlement of the American Question.

If it be said that these terms will never be accepted, the only answer to be given is—Try.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLOCKADE QUESTION.

THE question of the right of the Federal Government to blockade the Ports of the Southern States is here considered only with a view to the question, how far this proceeding justifies foreign interference by mediation.

The exercise of any such power by the Federal Government is an open violation of the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, subscribed to by the Delegates from the thirteen States which originally formed the Union. There can be no pretence to say that the right of blockade is delegated by any Article in this Confederation; or by any Article in the Constitution as settled and signed in 1787. On the contrary, every Article in that Constitution recognizes the independent sovereignty of each separate State, subject to the powers vested in Congress, and which powers are expressly enumerated in 18 Articles of Section VIII.

The right of the Federal Government to esta-

blish the blockade seems to have been almost universally assumed; but nowhere has it been shown that any such right exists. It is alleged to exist as a necessary incident to the supreme power vested in the Federal Government by the Constitution.

But this cannot be maintained in the face of the 2nd Article of the Confederation, which declares that "Each State retains its sovereignty; freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation *expressly* delegated by the United States in Congress assembled."

It is never contended that any such right is *expressly* delegated, but only that it is necessarily implied.

But it is impossible to draw any such inference consistently with "sovereignty, freedom, and independence," which are *expressly* reserved. Such an interpretation is contradicted by the universally understood meaning of these words, and there is no word to be found in any document to which the Federal Government refers, as forming the Constitution of the United States, which leaves even an opening for this question. It must, therefore, be assumed that, the only ground for this alleged right is, the necessity of the case, and the only authority, the law of the strongest.

This, though not a Constitutional answer, may be an effectual answer to the Southern States; but, certainly, it is neither a good nor an effectual answer to neutral Powers suffering therefrom.

Why the two great maritime neutral powers have quietly suffered so long, is another question.

When the States of Georgia and the Carolinas entered the Federal Union, it was expressly stipulated that their respective Ports should be *for ever free to the commerce of the world.*

The South, therefore, justly insists that the blockade is a violation of the fundamental terms of the Union, and though the North may answer that, this was a measure of defence against the war previously declared by the South, yet this can be no good answer to neutral nations.

With regard to the Mississippi, by the treaty with France which ceded Louisiana to the United States, for fifteen millions of dollars, *the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed for ever.*

The United States Government have, therefore, no more right to interfere with the navigation of this river, than they have to interdict the navigation of the "high seas."

If "the law of the strongest" be the answer to the South, that can hardly be a good answer to the British nation.

CHAPTER V.

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

CLOSELY connected with the question of Blockade, is the question of Secession.

If the rights of "sovereignty, freedom, and independence" be reserved, each State forming part of the Union, subject to that portion of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, "expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled;" the only question can be—What has been so expressly delegated?

The very term, "*expressly* delegated" is a denial of every inference. But neither by express terms, nor by inference, can it be maintained that the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," or the subsequently framed "Constitution of the United States," deprived any State of its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence," in the literal sense and common meaning of those words.

The circumstances under which the Constitution was framed, and the declared object, must

be taken into consideration, for a correct conclusion on this question.

The revolutionary war was brought to a successful termination under the control of a Government, called the Congress, consisting of the House of Representatives, and the Senate. This was a federal body appointed by the thirteen States then forming the Union. This body was invested with very inefficient powers, legislative and executive.

This bond of union was soon so weakened by conflicting views and jealousies as to threaten its total destruction. It was, therefore, resolved to call a Convention of the States, and to amend the "Articles of Confederation" under which the Union existed.

The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" were broken up, and the Constitution which followed, and continues, was formed on a similar framework. A consolidation of States was never proposed. The idea of a Republic, one and indivisible, was never popular in the United States.

In 1774, it shocked, not only the provincial prejudices of the members of Congress, but also their sense of their own duty. Major Sullivan, in reply to the Virginian Agitator, Patrick Henry, exclaimed: "A little colony had its all at stake as well as a great one!"

Each State retained its own sovereignty for its own municipal government, but deputed to the federal body, the Congress, the charge of all those matters, of a general nature, which could be best regulated for the common good by a common agent.

The powers deputed to Congress by the Articles of Confederation were expressly declared to be, the power of making war and peace, of entering into treaties and alliances, of regulating the coinage, of establishing a postage system, of borrowing money, of equipping a navy, and appointing all officers in the Federal service.

The respective States parted with their sovereign power to this extent, but no further.

Congress was also invested with the functions of a Court of Final Appeal in all disputes between the States.

Congress appointed a permanent Committee under a President of its own selection, and through this Committee performed the Executive duties of Government.

These Articles are entitled "perpetual," and it is declared in Art. 13, "And the Union shall be perpetual," which was contradicted by the Act of the subsequent Convention.

The same Art. 13, declares that: "Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United

States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them." That this was intended to apply only to the powers delegated by the same Articles, is clearly shown by the express declaration in Art. 2; "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence."

The Convention called for the purpose of amending these Articles, met at Philadelphia on the 14th May, 1787, and was attended by twelve of the thirteen States, Rhode Island declining to take part in the proceedings, and thereby proclaiming its own sovereign right and power.

This Convention was presided over by Washington, and contained the most eminent men of the country, including Franklin. Delegates were appointed to it by each State, without restriction as to number, but each delegation gave but one vote.

The debates were long and arduous, for the difficulties of the subject were all but insuperable. Each State was a sovereign power, and it was the duty of its Commissioners to consult its special interests before any other consideration. On more than one occasion, the Convention was on the point of breaking up in despair. At last, step by step, the various clauses were arranged by a series of compromises, which have remained the incongruities and ruin of the Constitution.

The decisions of the Convention were not to be final, or binding upon any State, until ratified by its own people. It was anticipated that there would be great difficulty in obtaining these ratifications; and provision was made that the new Constitution should come into force, limited in operation to themselves, whenever nine of the thirteen States should have ratified it. The people of each State elected a Convention, to which the decision was unreservedly left whether to accept or reject it, so far as that State was concerned. There was no direct action of the people in the nature of a popular vote; nor were the respective Conventions elected by any uniform or unqualified suffrage. They met at various dates, without any co-operation. Severe contests occurred in many cases. New York ratified by a majority of three only; in Massachusetts the votes were 187 to 168; North Carolina declined to act; Rhode Island continued aloof altogether.*

Thus, it appears that, at the very foundation of the American Union, the independent sovereignty of each State was recognized and acknowledged.

That Madison so understood it he himself declared in the Convention, on the 31st May 1787, in these words:—"The use of force against a

* Spence, "The American Union," p. 205.

State would be more like a declaration of war, than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked, as a dissolution of all previous compacts: a union of States containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction.”

Again, on the 8th June he said:—“ Any Government formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the government of Congress.”

Again, he said:—“ The powers of the Federal Government are no further *valid* than they are plainly authorized by the Constitution, and in case of the exercise of other powers not granted by that *compact*, the States have a right, and are in duty bound to interfere.”

Hamilton, the chief actor in the foundation of the Union, and the highest authority, said:—“ The first war of this kind would probably terminate in a dissolution of the Union.”

In one of the debates in the New York State Convention, Hamilton made use of these words:—“ To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised. No State would ever suffer itself to be used as the instrument for coercing another.”

John Quincy Adams said:—“ If the day shall

come—may Heaven avert it!—when the affection of the People of these States shall be alienated from each other, when this fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collisions of interest shall foster into hatred, then the bonds of political association will not hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States *to part in friendship from each other than to be held together by restraint.*

On this question, Henry Clay said :—“ When any State is right, when it has cause for resistance, when tyranny, and wrong, and oppression, unutterable arise, I will share her fortunes.”

Henry Everett, of Massachusetts, in a letter to the ‘ Boston Courier,’ on the 2nd February 1861, wrote :—“ To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous. The idea of civil war, accompanied as it would be by servile insurrection, is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States wish to leave us, in the name of Heaven, let them go in peace.”

Mr. Spence well remarks :—“ But there was a consideration of still higher import. The Constitution was a voluntary act, framed on the principles of free mutual assent, and common belief

in its advantages. To introduce force as a means of maintaining it, would be repugnant to those principles. It would be a commencement on the voluntary system, to be continued under compulsion. Force is an attribute of monarchy; the throne represents and wields the strength of the nation. Each part is subservient to the whole, and none can revolt without foreknowledge of this force to encounter and overthrow. But the basis of a Federal Republic is the reverse of all this. It stands upon consent, which is the abnegation of force. In place of submission of part to the whole, the parties are co-equal. Compulsion is not only inapplicable, but opposed to the principle of the system. And the men of that day were too logical to be unaware of this; they declined to incorporate with the structure they were rearing a principle directly antagonistic to it.”*

The only argument that can be raised against the right of Secession, is in the omission of any clause forbidding Secession; and any such argument must rest on an inference. The inference is that the United States exist under the Constitution in the condition of a single, consolidated State. But that inference, when extended beyond the purposes enumerated, ceases by express words in the Constitution.

* Spence, p. 220.

The Convention appointed to revise the "Articles of Confederation" had no general authority. It was summoned by an Act of Congress, which strictly defined its object and powers in these words:—"For the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and for reporting to the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal compact adequate to the exigencies of Government, and the preservation of the Union."

There is clearly no authority here to frame a new system, or effect organic change, but simply to make "alterations and provisions,"—to effect a vigorous reform. There is no mention of the people, but invariably of the States. The limits of their powers were not overlooked by the members of the Convention; but were continually referred to in their debates. If they exceeded their authority they knew that the next step was to refer their act to Congress for its approval—to the very source of their authority whose sanction was essential to the success of their labors.

As Mr. Spence observes:—"Now the 'Articles of Confederation' expressly declare that 'each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence.' They mutually acknowledge each other as distinct, sovereign communities; and in

this capacity they send delegates to a Convention for the purpose of reforming the Government—their agent—and effecting such improvements in its machinery and details as would render it efficient. Curtis remarks: “We must observe the position of the States, when thus assembled in Convention. Their meeting was purely voluntary; they met as equals; and they were sovereign political communities, whom no power could rightfully coerce into a change of their condition.” This being so, it seems to require stronger evidence than a mere epithet to prove that each of them abdicated this sovereignty, and beyond this, to explain to whom it passed.”*

It is a fact, on historical record, that after the Constitution was framed by delegates of the States, it was finally ratified by a Convention called in each State for the purpose. The decision whether to ratify or not was left absolutely to these Conventions; they acted independently on their own judgment. The people had really little or nothing to do with this Constitution, and it was well known that they were directly opposed to it. It was framed by men in advance of their age, desirous to secure the welfare of the people by framing a code which they well knew to be opposed to the popular passions of the day.

* Spence, p. 223.

“Of all the members of the Convention which framed the Constitution, the ablest was, unquestionably, Madison. It may be said it was his calm judgment and indomitable perseverance that eventually secured success. Hamilton was, indeed, the master spirit, but Madison was the able workman.”

It so happens that we have on record his interpretation of this very phrase. In the ratifying Convention of the State of Virginia, Patrick Henry objected strongly to these words,—“We, the people,” on the ground that the very construction might be given to them which is attempted at the present day. But Madison at once showed such a construction to be erroneous. He replied in these words: “The parties to it were to be the people, but not the people as composing one great society, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties.” Not contented with giving the true meaning of the phrase, he adduced an argument to prove it by adding: “If it were a purely consolidated government, the assent of a majority of the people would be sufficient to establish it. But it was to be binding on the people of a State only by their own separate consent.”

“This argument,” as Mr. Spence very properly observes, “seems conclusive.”*

* Spence, p. 226.

This interpretation is further confirmed at the close of the Constitution.

Art. 7, says—"The ratifications of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same;" and the Constitution is thus attested:—"Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present." Here follow the names of each of the twelve States which were parties in the Convention, and under each name those of the delegates who represented and signed for it.

The clauses of the Constitution are directly opposed to the theory of a single people or State, and the ratification is not only by the States, as States, but describes the Constitution as established, not over the people, but "between the States."

For the present purpose it can hardly be necessary to pursue this part of the inquiry further; but those who desire it will find the argument more fully set out in Chapter VI. of Mr. Spence's most able work, on this part of the question.

If the meaning of a Federal Republic be not, a government constituted of several constituent republics, what is the meaning? To assert that all were fused into one, is really to deny that the United States are a federal republic. To deny

this would not be more singular than to deny the existence of a federal compact, because its terms are entitled a "Constitution," this being a "federal compact adequate to the exigencies of government." This Federal Compact reserves powers over property, and over life or death, to each separate State; but this could not be if those separate States were thereby consolidated into one State.

In further elucidation, Mr. Spence refers to Madison, De Tocqueville, and other authorities. The two former of these are too important to be here omitted.

Madison, writing his views, of the requirements of a new Constitution, to Randolph, says:—"I think that a consolidation of the States into one simple republic is not less unattainable, than it would be inexpedient."

De Tocqueville observes:—"It was not in the power of the American legislators to reduce to a single nation the people for whom they were making laws."

Again—Mr. Spence refers to the following: "In the Convention, one of the ablest members, Luther Martin, observed: 'At the separation from the British Empire, the people of America preferred to establish themselves into thirteen separate sovereignties, instead of incorporating themselves into one. To these they look up for the

safety of their lives, liberties, and properties. They formed the Federal Government to defend the whole against foreign nations, and to defend the lesser States against the ambition of the larger ones.'” Here it appears, in clear terms, that one of the objects of the system was to prevent that very consolidation, which we are now told was then effected. The evidence of Mr. Seward cannot be objected to by a Unionist. On the 20th March 1850, he thus expressed himself:—“Every man in this country, every man in Christendom, who knows anything of the philosophy of government, knows that this republic has been thus successful only by reason of the stability, strength, and greatness, of the individual States.”

If their individuality remained distinct, it follows that their original sovereignty continued in each of them.

On the day when each State ratified the new Constitution, it was admitted to be an independent power. The thirteen colonies were acknowledged by Great Britain, and other countries, each of them as separately independent. The Articles of Confederation declare the mutual relation in which they co-existed in the Union. If they be no longer separately sovereign, to whom did their sovereignty pass, and what evidence exists that a change of such supreme importance has ever occurred?

As Mr. Spence observes: "It is clearly the natural conclusion that it remains where it existed before, unless there be evidence to the contrary; the onus of proof lies with those who dispute this. Nothing can be more complete, than the accordance of all American authorities on this point. One of the latest, Curtis, in his admirable work on the Constitution, observes: 'In America, it has been incontrovertible since the Revolution that the supreme, absolute, and uncontrolled power is in the people, before they make a Constitution, and remains in them after it is made.'"

In reality, every State has asserted its distinct sovereignty, on all occasions, and in peremptory terms. The leading supporters of the Union at the present day are citizens of Massachusetts. They have been foremost in asserting and maintaining their independent sovereignty.

These and many other instances are given by Mr. Spence, and nothing can be more conclusive than these are.*

De Tocqueville says:—"The Union was formed by the voluntary agreement of the States; and in uniting together, they have not forfeited their nationality, nor have they been reduced to the condition of one and the same people. If one of

* Spence, p. 237.

the States choose to withdraw from the compact, it would be difficult to disprove its right of doing so, and the Federal Government would have no means of maintaining its claims directly, either by force or right."

A Federal Republic is a partnership of republics, or States, and to a partnership of States the words of Madison apply:—"When resort can be had to no common superior, the parties to the compact must themselves be the rightful judges, whether the bargain has been pursued or violated."

It is contended that this partnership was to last for ever. But on the point of duration the Constitution is silent, except, in the preamble, the expression of a desire "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Here is no enactment or injunction. But in the previous "Articles of Confederation," in the title are the words, "perpetual union," and in the body, the express injunction—"And the Union shall be perpetual." On this point, these words seem to possess greater force than any words to be found in the Constitution, yet, notwithstanding, these "Articles" were terminated at the end of a few years, and that, too, with liberty to any State to leave the Federation altogether. The Union has, therefore, proved, by its own act, that terms of

this nature have no force of law, but simply indicate the intention and desire of the parties at the time.

Thus we arrive at the only sound conclusion, in Mr. Spence's words :—“That secession is a just and clear constitutional right of the States, and no violation of any enactment of the Federal compact.”

CHAPTER VI.

EFFECTS OF THE UNION.

It will be convenient here to consider some of the principal effects of the American Union, but this inquiry will be confined to those effects which seem to confirm the conclusion aimed at in these pages.

Regarded as a whole the American Union is the grandest attempt at political power which the world has ever witnessed, and, of its kind, unquestionably, the most successful. But in no part of the world has the attempt ever been made under such great advantages as in America. Possessing, for all practical purposes, a boundless extent of territory, diversified with the grandest scenery, and various climates, the most fertile soil, abundant minerals, vast forests, mighty rivers, and a sea-board of several thousand miles with magnificent natural harbors,—bounded east and west by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the whole forming an undisputed territory, the United States of America presented materials for an Empire unrivalled in the world for pros-

perity and power. To these great natural advantages chiefly the United States of America have owed their great and rapid prosperity.

By the extensive immigration of common and skilled labor from the old Empires of Europe, these great natural resources have been brought into more rapid action than by the ordinary increase of population in the States. In no way has the form of Government added anything to these natural advantages, further than in allowing the liberty of self-government to each State composing the Union.

This is a great deal towards prosperity and power as a Nation, but, as now proved, is not everything. This has enabled the States of America to establish Institutions most conducive to their own welfare, and to avoid many of the evils of the old Empires of Europe, in unjust patronage, and profligate expenditure. It has very clearly and successfully shown the inestimable benefits of self-government in a People; and also the insecurity of a Government resting on democracy. Apart from the question of Slavery, it is quite clear that the Federal Government could not have governed, for many years longer, a country so extensive and comprising so many people, and various interests, as were bound together by the American

Union. Not that laws might not have been made which would have been for the equal benefit of all the States, but that the People would never have agreed to make such laws. So true it is that, the power is in the people, and that, unchecked, they always, in the end, use the power for their own destruction.

It is generally admitted that in the framing of the American Constitution, a very high order of intellect was brought to bear upon it. If the best were not done, few will deny that the best was done which, under the circumstances, could be done. It was, perhaps, impossible then to frame a better Constitution, but, even then, its defects were not unknown. The most eminent, of those eminent men who did the work, never expressed a confident opinion in its enduring qualities. Washington said only that it was *respectable*, and he never expressed more than a faint hope that it might be from time to time amended, and so maintained. Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Mouroe, and Adams, have recorded in words too plain to leave any doubt of their opinion, that the Constitution, as framed, carried with it its own destruction. The only question with them was one of time. Jefferson had no hand in it, being then at Paris, but he has recorded his opinion to the same effect, and in the strongest terms of all.

These great men saw the difficulties of establishing a permanent Union of so many and distant States under one Federal Government, resting on pure Democracy. They saw that such diversity of interests between the Northern and the Southern States must lead to conflicts which would probably terminate in secession. They believed that their Constitution was in theory founded on a grand truth, but they knew that practically they had made it a great lie. They knew that it was a lie, and they admitted that they trembled when they thought of it, but they were weak enough to trust in it. Their fears were stronger than their hopes, and their fears are justified. The Providential laws may seem to come into operation slowly, according to our computation of time, but they come with certainty.

Jefferson was a Southerner, and a slave-holder, but he acknowledged the providential law—he admitted that it must come into operation, and “he trembled for his country when he reflected that God was just;” that in the event of a rising of Slaves, “the Almighty had no attribute which could take side with slave-owners in such a contest.”

He framed a plan of abolition, but the power was with the People, and they had no fears—they never have, when they have their own way.

Washington, a native of the south, and a slaveholder, declared it to be among his first wishes to see Slavery abolished by law, and in his will he provided for the emancipation of his slaves.

The other leading Statesmen of that time, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, the Randolphs, Monroe, whether from the North or from the South, whether concurring or not in their views on the practical mode of dealing with the institution, all concurred in reprobating, at least, the principle of Slavery.

It seemed to them impossible that a whole people should live permanently in contemplation of a system which does violence to its moral instincts. They relied on the moral instincts for leading them to reform the institution which offended them. Those instincts prevailed in the Northern States, as De Tocqueville says, "by abolishing the principle of slavery, not by setting the slaves free." The Northern States did not emancipate negroes who were enslaved, but they provided for the future extinction of slavery by legislating for the freedom of their offspring. In the Southern States those instincts do not appear to exist, or, at least, have not prevailed. Slavery is not regarded there as a barbarous institution, but rather as an admirable system, to be upheld and extended.

This was distinctly affirmed by Mr. A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, in that remarkable speech delivered by him at Savannah, Georgia, on the 21st March 1861, wherein he declared the object and purposes of the new Confederacy.

This most extraordinary declaration from a leader of the Southern party deserves particular notice, and the following report of the Address is taken *verbatim* from the Savannah '*Republican*,' as delivered in the Athenæum of that City by Mr. Vice-President Stephens, and stands, on the historical record of the Southern Confederacy, as the most audacious blasphemy ever uttered by a Public Man before a Christian audience.

The Newspaper says: "Mr. Stephens took his seat amid a burst of enthusiasm and applause such as the Athenæum has never displayed within its walls within the recollection of the oldest inhabitant."

"Last, not least, the new Constitution has put at rest for ever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—African Slavery as it exists among us, the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and present revolution.* Jefferson in his forecast, had anticipated

this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him *is now a realized fact*. But whether he comprehended the great truth upon which that rock *stood and stands* may be doubted. *The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of Nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically.* It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guaranty to the institution, while it should last; and hence no argument can be justly used against the Constitutional guaranties thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. *These ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error.* It was a sandy foundation: and the idea of a government built upon it—when 'the storm came and the wind blew, it fell.'

“ *Our new government is founded upon exactly*

the opposite ideas : its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. (Applause.) This our new government is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

“This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It is so even amongst us. Many who hear me can, perhaps, recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors with a zeal above knowledge we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind, from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises. So with the *anti-slavery* fanatics : their conclusions are right, if their premises are. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their pre-

mises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just; but their premises being wrong, their whole argument fails.

* * * * *

“In the conflict thus far, success has been on our side complete, throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.”

After alluding to the slow development of truth in the various branches of science, and referring for illustrations to Galileo, Adam Smith, and Harvey,—the orator and moral philosopher thus proceeds:—

“May we not, therefore, look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first government ever instituted upon principles in strict conformity to Nature and the ordination of Providence in furnishing the material of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principles of certain classes; but the classes thus enslaved were of the same race and in violation of the laws of Nature. Our system commits no such violation of Nature’s

laws. The negro, by Nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material,—the granite; then comes the brick or marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by Nature for it; and by experience we know that it is best not only for the superior, but the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the Creator. It is not safe for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances, or to question them. For His own purposes He has made one race to differ from another, as one star differeth from another in glory. The greater objects of humanity are best attained, when conformed to His laws and decrees in the formation of government as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded on a strict conformity with those laws. *This stone which was rejected by the first builders, has become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice!*”

‘The devil can quote scripture’—is an old saying. But, passing over this blasphemy, which makes the whole seem as if it were intended for an impious burlesque,—What can be expected from a people who put up in their high places persons holding such opinions as these?

Then, look at their Christian Preachers who declare Slavery to be “the beneficent source and wholesome foundation of our civilization—an institution moral and civilizing, useful at once to blacks and whites;” who say that, “to suppress Slavery would be to throw back civilization two hundred years;”—who say that, “it is not a moral evil. It is the Lord’s doing, and marvellous in our eyes. . . . It is by divine appointment.”

Then, again;—A Chancellor of South Carolina describes Slavery as in accordance with “the proudest and most deeply cherished feelings of his Countrymen,—feelings which others, if they will, may call prejudices.”

A Governor of Kansas declares that he “loves” the institution, and that he votes for it because he “loves” it. Nor are these sentiments confined to the slave-holding minority. The important fact is, that they are shared equally by nearly the whole white population of the South. To be the owner of a slave is the chief object of the “poor white’s” ambition.

The effects of this system could not be doubtful. Of its effects in the South there can be but one impartial opinion. With a population of twelve millions, of which one-third is brutalized by slavery, and with a law which declares it to

be a crime, and punishes as such, all attempts to improve that condition by education, the effect can be no other than to brutalize the whole population. The consequence is inevitable—universal depravity throughout the Slave States. If evidence of this be wanting, it is to be found in abundance in all impartial writers acquainted with facts. But what further evidence of a crime can be wanted, after an open avowal of the fact? Let any one who doubts the truth of the broad assertion here made, only look into the most recent testimony in “The Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom,” by Mr. Olmsted, himself a native of a Northern State, and well accustomed to the servitude of the negro race.

Take one instance only, given by this writer, out of two volumes full of such instances, and many much worse. He is travelling in a Southern State. “A party of fashionably-dressed people took the train for Charleston—two families, apparently, returning from a visit to their plantations. They came to the station in handsome coaches. Some minutes before the rest, there entered the car, in which I was then again alone, and reclining on a bench in the corner, an old nurse, with a baby and two young negro women, having care of half a dozen children mostly girls, from three to fifteen years of age. As they closed

the door, the negro girls seemed to resume a conversation, or quarrel. Their language was loud and obscene, such as I never heard before from any but the most depraved and beastly women of the streets. Upon observing me, they dropped their voices, but not with any appearance of shame, and continued their altercation, until their mistresses entered. The white children, in the meantime, had listened without any appearance of wonder or annoyance. The moment the ladies opened the door, they became silent.”*

What Mr. Olmsted thought of this he has left us in no doubt, by the following notes at the foot of the same page.

“Children are fond of the company of negroes, not only because the deference shown them makes them feel perfectly at ease, but the subjects of conversation are on a level with their capacity, while the simple tales and the witch and ghost stories, so common among negroes, excite the young imagination and enlist the feelings. If, in this association, the child becomes familiar with indelicate, vulgar, and lascivious manners and conversation, an impression is made upon the mind and heart, which lasts for years, perhaps for life. Could we, in all cases, trace

* Olmsted, Cotton Kingdom, p. 222.

effects to their real causes, I doubt not but many young men and women, of respectable parentage, and bright prospects, who have made shipwreck of all their earthly hopes, have been led to the fatal step by the seeds of corruption which, in the days of childhood and youth, were sown in their hearts by the indelicate and lascivious manners and conversation of their father's negroes."

Then comes the following specimen "from an address of Chancellor Harper, prepared for and read before the Society for the Advancement of Learning, of South Carolina."—"I have said the tendency of our institution is to elevate the female character, as well as that of the other sex, for similar reasons. And, permit me to say, that the elevation of the female character is no less important and essential to us, than the moral and intellectual cultivation of the other sex. It would, indeed, be intolerable, if, when one class of society is necessarily degraded in this respect, no compensation were made by the superior elevation and purity of the other. Not only essential purity of conduct, but the utmost purity of manners. And, I will add, though it may incur the formidable charge of affectation or prudery, *a greater severity of decorum than is required elsewhere, is necessary among us.* Always should

be strenuously resisted the attempts, which have sometimes been made, to introduce among us the freedom of foreign European, and, especially, of continental manners. Let us say: we will not have the manners of South Carolina changed."

After this, from "a Chancellor,"—where is the hope from argument, with such persons!

It is often said, and nothing is more true, that great as is the injury of slavery to the blacks, far greater is the injury to the whites. Even Jefferson, though himself a slave-holder, asserted that slavery was more pernicious to the white race than to the black. Some, whose chief inheritance has been in slaves, acting under this conviction, have liberated them all.

In 1808 the African slave trade was abolished; and the principal source on which the South relied for recruiting its population was thus cut off.

Subsequently slavery was abolished in the North, by legislating for the freedom of the offspring of the slaves. The operation of this plan was to reduce the value of slaves in those States. But this emancipation not extending to the South, the value of Slaves in the Southern States was not materially affected by this change; or, not further than by the transfer of slaves from the North to the South. This facilitated the process

of abolition in the north, and at a small pecuniary loss, the Northern States got rid of slavery. But this process can never be applied to the South, which is now the only open market.

Assuming the slave-holders to be impracticable on the subject of slavery, the question of emancipation is reduced to very narrow limits in the South. All that remains to be done is to define the limits beyond which slavery shall not be permitted to extend.

If the area be confined to its present limits, the period of abolition is not distant, and is calculable. If this, or anything to this effect had been done at the time of the Union, slavery would long ago have ceased in the United States of America. The effect of the Union was to extend and prolong this evil. The present object should be to shorten, and ultimately terminate it. This evil has, at last, terminated the Union; and for ever;—at least, as long as the evil continues. The whole world is interested in this termination, but the world is not interested in the restoration of the Union.

On the contrary, the interests of mankind require that the Slave States should be shut up, that the evil may die out from exhaustion, which it will as surely as the flame of an un replenished lamp.

Another effect of the union of the North with the South has been, to throw the preponderating power of the Government into the Southern States. The turn in the balance of power was shown in the election of Mr. Lincoln, as President. That event was foreseen as the necessary effect of well known causes, long in operation. It is unnecessary here to review those causes. This review has been taken with such great ability by Mr. Spence and Mr. Cairnes, in their well known works, as to render any further review of these causes quite unnecessary. Although they take very different views of the same subject, and in some respects draw wrong conclusions,—yet, between them both they have quite exhausted this part of the subject.

The effect of the Union on the national character has been often observed upon. Washington thus expresses himself in a Letter to Read:—“Such dearth of public spirit, and such want of virtue; such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another, in this change of military arrangements, I never saw before, and I pray God’s mercy that I may never be witness to again. I tremble at the prospect. . . . Such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not be surprised at any disaster that may happen. Could I have

foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration on earth should have induced me to accept this command.”*

These national characteristics are correctly traced to their origin in a democratic government, and, for all practical purposes, an unlimited extent of fertile territory, with all the other requisites for a powerful and prosperous nation. These national characteristics have continued to grow with the rapid growth of wealth and power by the accession of new States to the Union, until the boasting and vain glory of the people, as a nation, has brought down upon them the ridicule and contempt of all the older nations of Europe. To this contemptible national characteristic, the people in their progress have added audacity and meanness, which has justly brought down upon them the indignation of all Europe; and, as in the ordinary case of near relationship, this feeling is the strongest with those who should have been most closely bound together by their common interests, and natural sympathies.

These are some of the effects of the Union, and are the principal effects here to be treated of. It is useless to deny them, or to attempt to hide them; nor are they referred to here for any other purpose than to render good service where

* Spence, p. 51.

our interests and sympathies are really enlisted. But far is it from the intention of the writer of these remarks to deny the existence of many and great exceptions in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West; or to deny that the United States of America are, in the whole, the most striking example to be found in history, of a great nation raised up in the shortest time by the industry and energy of the People. The present object is to show clearly their faults, with a view to their correction, and to help them to extricate themselves from the ruin into which their own faults have plunged them. For this object, the ungracious duty of showing the faults, and dwelling upon them, becomes a necessity.

CHAPTER VII.

DEFECTS OF THE UNION.

To enumerate all the defects of the Union would require a much larger Volume than this. A few only of the principal defects will serve the present purpose. Foremost of these is the foul blot of Slavery, which was admitted into the Constitution of the United States, in the face of the following paragraph from the "Declaration of Independence," which purported to be the foundation of that Constitution.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations

on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Tried by these principles the Constitution of the United States is a fraud and a falsehood, because that Constitution recognizes and maintains slavery as an established institution, and thereby violates all these most sacred principles professed to be maintained.

Now, what has been the course of this evil in the history of the United States of America ?

The people fought, and successfully, against their Mother Country, for what they called their liberty and independence, meaning the liberty of self-government.

By force of arms they gained their liberty, and established themselves a free and independent Nation.

But they retained the baneful gift of slavery, which they had long before received from their Mother Country, in her days of comparative barbarism, and thereby they denied the sacred truth which they professed.

They framed their Constitution on the principles of Freedom and Equality, and they denied freedom and equality to a large proportion of their population.

They formed a Federal Government from the

People, and they excluded therefrom their best men.

They have governed their Country by the will of the People, and they have broken up the Union which bound their States together, and they have involved themselves in a civil war which threatens their mutual destruction.

They have conducted their civil war in a manner injurious to all the neutral nations of Europe, and they have outraged the dearest feelings of humanity.

Such is the end of a Constitution founded on falsehood, and carried on in fraud.

The real question, and the only question which concerns Europe, is ;—How much longer is this state of things to be permitted ?

To wait until one of the contending parties has conquered the other ; or until they have destroyed each other, is to wait an indefinite time, with no probability of a fortunate termination in either event.

All the present evils are consequences naturally following from such a Union ; and, as Franklin wrote to Joseph Galloway, when urging the separation of the American Colonies from Great Britain,—“it seems like Mezentius coupling and binding together the dead and the living.”

The Slave States of the South are fast work-

ing out their land to sterility and waste, and they have already driven away nearly the whole of their white laboring population, with the exception of that miserable remnant, called "*mean whites*," who chiefly supply those ranks known as the "border ruffians."

The Lands of the South are abundant and fertile, but possess scarcely sufficient hands for the cultivation of the ordinary necessaries of life for the whole population. Slave labor is unsuited for such cultivation; and, as to white laborers, there is neither demand nor supply.

The products of the South are chiefly Cotton, Sugar, Rice and Tobacco, and for the cultivation of these, the opinion prevails in the South, that slave-labor is the most suitable.

But many competent authorities in the North, and even in the South, most confidently deny this, and many more both in North and South doubt it.

All, however, seem to agree in opinion that, white labor does not work well with slave-labor. Many reasons are given for this, all of which seem to be manifest and conclusive. But it is unnecessary here to enter into these reasons. The fact is assumed as undisputed. The consequence is that, the Slave States of the South are, to a great extent, dependent on the Free

States of the North ; and another consequence is that, the interests of the Slave States and the Free States are, to a great extent, conflicting. What may be called the raw produce is raised in the South, and the manufactories are in the North. Even such common articles as carts, carriages, and ploughs, household utensils, articles of clothing, and textile fabrics, are principally supplied from the North ; and the produce of the South is chiefly exported.

From the conflicting interests thus existing, or supposed to exist, and, whether really existing or not, clearly originating in the "sacred" institution of Slavery, arose, from the earliest time, the struggle between the Northern and the Southern States, for the dominant power in the Government.

Until the last election to the Presidency, the dominant power has always been with the South ; when it turned to the North with the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, then came the secession of the Southern States. They well knew that their political game was then up, and lost to them for ever. The operation of the political machinery to this result is sufficiently shown by Mr. Cairnes, in his book on 'Slave Power,' to need any repetition here. But this working of the political machinery was not the cause of

Secession. The cause was in the institution of Slavery, and Secession was the foreseen consequence.

This was the great defect in the Constitution, and has proved fatal to the Union. It was an attempt to unite a dead with a living body. Who that believes in this can wish to see the attempt repeated ?

Another defect in the Constitution was, its tendency to discourage high character and ability in public men, and to lower the general standard of political morals : and such has been the continuous effect. This was noticed by De Tocqueville, nearly thirty years ago, when he wrote thus :—“ It is a well-authenticated fact that, at the present day the most talented men in the United States are very rarely placed at the head of affairs. The race of American Statesmen has evidently dwindled most remarkably in the course of the last fifty years.”

Everybody is a politician, but few are statesmen, and the few are too high-minded to submit to the self-degradation which they must undergo to qualify for high office. That ability has long ceased to form the ground of selection for the presidential office, has long been known, and that is injurious enough. But the evil extends far beyond this. Under the system which has

long prevailed, ability is a certain ground of exclusion from high office. This is a necessary consequence of the Constitution based *solely* on the will of the People. That Clay or Webster should be rejected for Polk or Pierce, is a natural consequence. He is chosen, not as the best for the office, but as the best for the purposes of the party which elects him. The will of the People is not only not controlled, but it is not guided. What other result can be expected? The object of the party is its own success, for its own purposes, not for the welfare of the community.

Justice Story thus describes the qualifications required for the office of President:—“The nature of the duties to be performed by the President are so various and complicated as not only to require great talents and great wisdom to perform them, but also long experience in office. They embrace all the arrangements of peace and war, of diplomacy and negotiation, of finance, of naval and military operations, and of the execution of the laws, through almost infinite ramifications of details, and in places at vast distances from each other.” If this be true, as it clearly is,—“how” as Mr. Spence asks, “is it possible that the government can be properly conducted, under a system which so utterly excludes these qualifications!”

Mr. Olmsted also observes :—“ Unquestionably there are great evils arising from the lack of talent applied to our government,—from the lack of real dignity of character, and respectability of attainments, in many of the government offices. We cannot afford to employ a heavy proportion of talent or honesty, about the little share of our business which is done at the capital.” Not that there is any deficiency of talent and honesty for the purposes of government, but that the existing institutions excludes them.

That universal suffrage, as carried out in the Union, has had an injurious effect, and that this effect has been very greatly aggravated by the large proportion of foreigners, thus placed in the command of political power, without either training or association to fit them for it, cannot be doubted by any reflecting mind.

On this subject, Chancellor Kent, one of the highest of American authorities, remarks in his Commentaries :—“ The progress and impulse of popular opinion is rapidly destroying every constitutional check, every conservative element, intended by the sages who framed the earliest American Constitutions, as safeguards against the abuses of popular suffrage. In another passage, Chancellor Kent observes :—“ Such a rapid course

of destruction of the former constitutional checks, is matter for grave reflection; and to counteract the dangerous tendency of such combined forces as universal suffrage, frequent elections, all offices for short periods, all officers elective, and an unchecked press, and to prevent them from racking and destroying our political machines, the people must have a larger share than usual, of that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated."

As these are not the attributes of American character at the present day, it would seem that they really have been "racking and destroying" the political machine.

These, and many other defects in the Constitution, are visible enough in the present day, though only dimly seen by the framers. But if those great men saw the evils, even dimly, and could not then avoid them, what chance is there of better success now, when all the furious passions of men are let loose and raging?

That some, at least, of these noble-minded men saw, and trembled at what they saw in the future,—and to them no distant future,—they have themselves recorded in unmistakeable language.

But some form of government they must have, and under the greatest difficulties to deal with in

the People's sovereign will, they formed it as they did. Who will now presume to say that they could have done it better? And what if they could have done it better? Why dwell on the defects now, but for the remedy?

And what is the remedy?

If the causes of the evils have been correctly described, the answer has been given in the remedy proposed.

But though the defects of the American Constitution be now clearly seen, no one acquainted with its history can say that its chief defect has been its basis on Democracy.

Many say that the American Constitution has broken down because it was based on Democracy. They might as well say that the civil war now raging in America has broken down Democracy. The history of the world shows no connection between civil war and Democracy; or that Democracy, more than any other form of Government, leads to civil war. All Governments are liable to civil war, but least of all that Government which rests on the support of the People. This may be taken as a fact confirmed by history. The history of the United States of America, is a history of unexampled prosperity; and the present interruption of that prosperity is an example of the consequences of that falsehood.

which is stamped on the American Constitution, at variance with the truth in the previous Declaration of Independence. It is a simple absurdity to refer these consequences to Democratic institutions. The same cause must have broken down the most perfect form of representative government on the basis of monarchy.

That North America owes much of its rapid progress in prosperity and political power to its liberal institutions must be admitted by those who are most opposed to its form of government, and this may be admitted without acknowledging that form of government to be the best. But to refer to the present disastrous position of the Union to the form of government, is to make an assertion which is contradicted by every fact in the case. The object for which the North and South are fighting has no relation whatever to forms of government. Differences exist between North and South, but in the form of government they are agreed; in the democratic principle there is no difference between them. The South has never complained that the institutions of the North were too popular; nor has the North ever shown the smallest wish to interfere with the political organization of the South. The victory of either party would leave untouched all the questions which divide aristocrats and democrats;

it would not affect government by elective assemblies; vote by ballot; universal suffrage; or the election of judicial and executive officers. Whatever the merits of the contest may be, the war is beyond all doubt a war for the maintenance of the Union on the one side, and for independence on the other; and it is equally clear that this conflict arose out of a deep-seated and widely-extended difference of views founded on the existence of slavery in the Southern States. The South resolved to break up the Union because if it were maintained Slavery could not be extended; and the North were determined to maintain the Union, not upon any definite grounds as to Slavery, but in a natural pride in the magnificence of that Union, and with a keen sense of its many advantages. This is a lamentable state of things, but in no way discreditable to Democracy. Democracy has nothing whatever to do with Slavery.

Nothing presents in a more striking light the careless way in which some people think and speak, than the ignorant habit which prevails of calling the United States, collectively, a Democracy. However that term may apply to the government of each separate State, the Federal Constitution is a most elaborate and ingenious contrivance for conducting, under one head, the

common affairs of a number of independent States, whose sovereign character was expressly recognized and reserved by the Constitution, except so far as sovereignty was limited by the express words of that remarkable document. No doubt the officers to whom the management of these affairs was intrusted were chosen by popular election, but once chosen, they had a degree of authority which imposed severe restraints on the direct exercise of the popular will.

A President of the United States has, during the term of his office, more authority, and less responsibility than an English King, or Prime Minister, as Mr. Lincoln's proceedings throughout this war sufficiently prove. The Constitution of the Senate is anything but democratic. In the deliberations of the Senate, the small States of Rhode Island and Delaware have as much power as New York and Pennsylvania. Again, the Supreme Court is anything but a democratic institution. Its judges are appointed for life, and its decisions are superior in authority to the legislative powers of Congress itself, and also to those of every State legislature.

It is this part of the institutions of the North which may most truly be said to have broken down, and to have been broken down by Slavery, for it is this part which has proved most inade-

quate to the functions allotted to it, and this is precisely the least democratic part of the whole. It has broken down from a growing and constantly increasing dissimilarity between the North and the South in habits, tastes, and feelings, introduced by Slavery, and has produced all the present consequences under political institutions not merely similar but substantially the same. To describe this as the breaking down of Democracy is about as reasonable as to describe the Indian Mutiny as the breaking down of constitutional monarchy.

For the last forty-five years the United States may be said to have enjoyed a sort of holyday. No debt, no taxes, unlimited space for every kind of enterprise, an unparalleled demand for every sort of labor, and a lavish supply of it from the uncomfortable and dissatisfied part of the whole population of Europe.

This is enough to explain everything that can be fairly alleged against them, and, no doubt, there is something in common between this state of things and democracy. The universal race and passion for wealth which the circumstances of the country produce, has a tendency to democracy, and democracy, unchecked, has a tendency to run riot. It has run riot in the Union, but for all this the Union might have held to-

gether for many more years,—and years of continued prosperity,—but for the baneful effects of Slavery, which has broken up the Union, and cast a blight over the whole country.

It must, however, be admitted that, in practice the principle of popular sovereignty very soon leads to a negation of the lawfulness of all independent functions, and to a denial of their utility by short-sighted politicians, who are apt to regard them as nothing better than obstructions.

If the Government be nothing more than the servant of popular will, and if all means of resistance to that will be obliterated, this seems to be identical with the obliteration of all means of resistance to the action of the Government.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL OPERATION OF THE UNION.

THE movements of the political machinery of the Union, and some of their effects, have been already adverted to. How these have effected the disruption of the Union, which, from the commencement, was, sooner or later, an inevitable consequence, will now be more clearly shown.

The incongruous elements in some of the States, and the great distance of many of them from the central and supreme Government at Washington, rendered a union of interests, with divided Sovereignty, impossible, under a pure democracy.

The struggle for power commenced with the establishment of the Union, and ended only with its overthrow.

The Constitution and form of Government encouraged and kept alive this struggle, but under no Constitution, and under no form of Government, could the Union have been long maintained between the Free and Slave States.

If Slavery had been continued in the North, the

Union might have been longer preserved. But then the progress of prosperity to the whole would have been much less rapid than it has been, and the miseries of Slavery would have been much more manifest than they are. The same evils would have been at work in either case, and with the same certain result in the end—the disruption of the Union, and the extinction of Slavery.

The one we have witnessed ; the other must follow. It is only a question of time.

All who are acquainted with the history of the American Union know that, within the last forty years, the Union has, on many occasions, been in imminent peril, and that most of these occasions have arisen in Northern, and not in Southern States.

Even the State of Massachusetts, the first of all the States to strike off the chains of slavery, and now the loudest in denouncing secession, when inconvenient to herself, has threatened on four separate occasions to secede from the Union.

First, in the debates on the adjustment of the State debts ; secondly, on the purchase of Louisiana, and its admission into the Union ; thirdly, during the war of 1813 ; and, fourthly, on the annexation of Texas, when one chamber of her legislature actually passed a vote of secession. On these occasions it was no mere act of excited

individuals, but the general voice of the community.*

Secession is by no means a novel doctrine. In the first session of Congress under the new Constitution, it was threatened in the first serious contest that arose; and this in the presence of several of the framers of the Constitution. It appears that they very much feared the danger of Secession from the Union, and that they took precautions to prevent it; but it does not appear that there was ever any doubt in the minds of those who, with the facts so recent, were most competent to judge, that the right existed, and might be exercised.

The doctrine, indeed, has been maintained and loudly declared, both in the North and in the South, at frequent periods in the history of the Union. Jefferson and Hamilton both refer in forcible terms to the danger of the secession of members, and the separation of the States.

The Northern States were the first to raise the question practically.

The war of 1813 was highly unpopular in the North, and when called upon by the President to supply their quota of Militia, they absolutely declined. But they went far beyond inaction, and secession was threatened in the loudest terms;

* Spence, p. 209.

nor can there be a doubt in the mind of any one acquainted with the events of that period, that the New England States would have seceded from the Union had the war continued.*

With the progress of events the elements of conflict became more numerous. Small States confronted the larger—maritime interests competed with agricultural—States exclusively Atlantic against those having Western territory—Slave States with free, or those expecting soon to be free. On all leading questions these various interests contended, each for itself, with a tenacity proportionate to the importance and critical nature of the decision to be formed.

These, which Mr. Spence correctly describes as, the difficulties which were on the point of breaking up the early Convention in despair, in settling the terms of the Constitution,† were the difficulties continually arising after the Constitution was settled, and which, at last, broke up the Union.

These were the difficulties foreseen and urged by the party called the Federalists on the occasion of the annexation of Louisiana to the United States in the year 1803.

On the 30th April 1803 the treaty with the

* Spence, p. 207, 208, 209.

† Spence, p. 204.

French Government was concluded for the purchase of Louisiana for 80,000,000*l.* in exchange for a dominion the area of which exceeded 1,000,000 square miles.

The Federalists of that time reproached Jefferson for including a territory within the limits of the Confederation which, by the force of events would be one day led to separate itself from the Atlantic States, after having thinned their population to increase its own.

The public mind then intoxicated with joy, cared very little about such distant possibilities. But these seem to have made more impression on the mind of Jefferson himself, as will appear from the following extract from his Letter to Brackenridge, 12th August, 1803, and now well deserving notice:—

“Besides, if it should become the great interest of those nations to separate from this, if their happiness should depend on it so strongly as to induce them to go through that convulsion, why should the Atlantic States dread it? But, especially, why should we, their present inhabitants, take side in such a question? . . . The future inhabitants of the Atlantic and Mississippi States will be our sons. We leave them in distinct but bordering establishments. We think we see their happiness in their union, and we

wish it. Events may prove it otherwise ; but if they see their interest in separation, why should we take side with our Atlantic rather than our Mississippi descendants ? It is the elder and the younger son differing. God bless them both, and keep them in union, if it be for their good, but separate them if it be better.”*

It was a never-ceasing struggle for sovereign power, which each State claimed, but no State really enjoyed.

In fact, the sovereign power, which by the Constitution was declared to be in the People, was, practically, on great and exciting occasions, nowhere.

It was not in Congress ; it was not in the People ; and it was not in their elected head, the President.

If anywhere, it was in the Supreme Court of the United States,—the ultimate appeal in Constitutional questions.

The federal government has no absolute power of making laws, for its laws are liable to be declared null and void by the Supreme Court,—the great tribunal of the country, whose decision is above the law,—and final, for this decision is without appeal.

Thus, it appears that, the Supreme Court of

* Jefferson's Works, vol. iv. p. 499.

the United States sits not only as the interpreter, but as the judge, of the law, and, therefore, above the law.

The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed, *durante vita, quamdiu*, etc., by the President, and approved by the Senate.

In the Senate the Slave party, before the last Election, was predominant, and had been able to nominate the President. The Senate, therefore, had the appointments to the national judicatory in its own hands ; and, as Mr. Cairnes says, for some years—foreseeing that in the controversies which were pending it would be of importance to have the judicial bench on its side—it had been silently shaping to its purposes this great organ of the nation's power. With such success had the process been carried on, that, in 1855, although the North had always furnished by far the greatest share of legal talent and learning to the Bar of the Union, out of the nine judges who constituted the Supreme Court of the United States, five were Southern men and slaveholders, and the rest, though not natives of the South, were known to be, in their sympathies, strongly Southern.*

Thus, the tribunal of ultimate appeal in the Union was brought into a condition, not only to

* Cairnes, "On Slave Power," p. 215.

interpret the laws, but also at its pleasure to annul the legislation of the Federal Government.

Such has been the result of a pure democracy, recognizing the institution of Slavery.

As Mr. Cairnes adds: "We cannot but admire the sagacious foresight of De Tocqueville: — 'The President who exercises a limited power may err without causing great mischief in the State. Congress may decide amiss without destroying the Union, because the Electoral body, in which Congress originates, may cause it to retract its decision by changing its members. But if the Supreme Court be ever composed of imprudent men or bad citizens, the Union may be plunged into anarchy, or civil war.' " *

This institution of the Supreme Court is the most extraordinary anomaly ever heard of in the history of any Nation. It is the constitution of an irresponsible body, appointed for life, and invested with power to over-rule and defeat the acts of the representative government of the People.

These judges, instead of interpreting the Law, may at their pleasure,—as they have done,—declare it null and void. It is,—as if our Lords Justices were empowered to declare null and void

* Cairnes, "On Slave Power," p. 218.

the Acts of our Legislature. This is part of the Constitution of a people who fought for, and gained, their independence, and the liberty of self-government!

They would have no titles of honor, and no House of Lords, but they would have a body of irresponsible men over whom they have no control, and in these men they would vest the supreme power, thereby acknowledging that, somewhere the supreme power must be vested.

Such is the great and boasted experiment in democracy; and the result,—long foreseen by enlightened and reflecting men,—is civil war, fast drifting into anarchy, or despotism. But what despotism can be more terrible than the despotism of the People, which has brought about their present ruin? Who can say that the game of despotism and duplicity has not been played equally by all the States of the Union from first to last? Who can justly upbraid England with want of sympathy in such a People, who have chosen for themselves such institutions, and have shown so little sympathy for the afflicted race whom they have enslaved?

Where, in the North or in the South, can British sympathy find its object, but in that much injured and afflicted race?

Who can sympathize with the rowdy Yankee

of the North, or with the sullen Slave-owner of the South ?

Who can sympathize with the "almighty-dollar-man," or with the "mean white" ?

It is said that, the Negro is better treated in the South than in the North. Who knows ?

But this is known—that detestation of the colored man is much more strongly manifested in the North, than in the South. In this, at least, all travellers who have had the opportunity of judging are agreed.

For British feelings there is no choice between the North and the South, though no one doubts that there are, in both, many as earnest and sincere friends of the negro as in England. It is not of the individual honest-hearted and enlightened American, but of the American People generally, that these observations are made.

Great Britain in her sorrow and indignation makes no expression of sympathy for either party.

As a Nation, Great Britain has only to consider her political interests ; but the feelings of the British People are of strong indignation against the South for its institution of Slavery ; and of distrust of the North for the detestation manifested by them towards the whole colored race.

The British People claim no right of inter-

ference in the internal affairs of either the North or the South; but they do claim the right of interference in the cause of humanity, when it is made a cause of injury to British interests.

They deny the right of the American People to commit an outrage on humanity, and thereby to inflict the misery of their own making upon British People and others.

Great Britain, *therefore*, calls upon the Nations of Europe to join them in putting a stop to the evil, or, at least, in preventing its extension.

The British People offer their friendly mediation to the American people, on the ground both of kindred tie and mutual interests.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

FROM the commencement of the Union, to the present time, the struggle for power, between the Northern and the Southern States has been unceasing.

The aggressive character of the South proceeds primarily from the well-known fact of the necessary limitation of slave culture to soils of more than average richness, combined with the tendency to exhaust them. It results from this that societies based upon slavery cannot, like those founded on free industrial institutions, take root, grow, and flourish upon a limited area.

A constant supply of fresh soils of high fertility becomes, therefore, an indispensable requisite for the permanent industrial success of such societies. This, as Mr. Cairnes says, is a fundamental principle in their political economy. In support of this, he quotes the words of Judge Warner, of Georgia, who says :—“ There is not a slaveholder but who knows perfectly well that, whenever sla-

very is confined within certain specified limits, its future existence is doomed ; it is only a question of time as to its final destruction. You may take any single slaveholding county in the Southern States, in which the great staples of cotton and sugar are cultivated to any extent, and confine the present slave population within the limits of that county. Such is the rapid natural increase of the slaves, and the rapid exhaustion of the soil in the cultivation of these crops that, in a few years it would be impossible to support them within the limits of such county. Both master and slave would be starved out ; and what would be the practical effect in any one county, the same result would happen to all the slaveholding States. Slavery cannot be confined within certain specified limits without producing the destruction of both master and slave ; it requires fresh lands, plenty of wood and water, not only for the comfort and happiness of the slave, but for the benefit of the owner.”*

Slavery thus requires for itself a constantly expanding field, and, within this field it is exclusive of all other industrial systems.

It is true that there exists in certain districts through the Slave States a considerable free population engaged in regular industry ; but this

* Cairnes, p. 151.

forms no real exception to the essential exclusion of slave societies.

These settlements of free farmers occur only where, from some cause, slavery has disappeared from tracts of country large enough to form the abode of distinct societies. Of these Mr. Cairnes gives several instances where, the exhaustion of the soil, under a long continued cultivation by slaves, or other causes, compelled an extensive emigration of planters to new districts.*

Slave society is essentially exclusive of all other forms of social life, and this characteristic is as well understood by the free population of the Northern States, as is the necessity to their system of a constantly expanding area by the Planters of the South ; and hence, whenever free and slave societies have come into contact on the same field, a mutual antagonism has sprung up between them. Each has endeavored to outstrip the other in the career of colonization, and, by first occupying the ground, to keep the field open for its future expansion against the encroachments of its rival.†

Thus, the slaveholder, as a Citizen of the United States, has ever before him the strongest inducement of his own interests, according to his

* Cairnes, p. 153.

† Cairnes, p. 154.

own view, for extending by aggression the limits of his own community over the Free States.

Mr. Olmsted shows, on the authority of a Virginia planter, confirmed by the experience of many others, that in harvesting a light crop of wheat, of six bushels to the acre, by slave labor, "one quarter of an acre a day was secured for each able hand engaged;" whereas, in New York, he tells us, from his own experience, that free labor "would be expected under ordinary circumstances, to secure a crop of wheat yielding from twenty to thirty bushels to the acre, at the rate of about two acres a day for each man." The same authority adds—"that the ordinary waste in harvesting wheat in Virginia, through the carelessness of the negroes, beyond that which occurs in the hands of ordinary Northern laborers, is equal in value to what a Northern farmer would often consider a satisfactory profit on his crop;" and that, "in his deliberate opinion formed not without much accurate observation,—four Virginia Slaves do not, when engaged in ordinary agricultural operations, accomplish as much, on an average, as one ordinary free farm laborer in New Jersey."*

If four slaves be required to do the work of one free man, and that work, when done, costs twice

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 134.

as much, for every acre brought into cultivation by slave labor, three acres are wasted, and the produce of that labor goes only half as far for employing more. In addition to all this, it is well known that, the exhausting nature of cotton and sugar crops is so great that, in these districts, it is the usual practice to abandon the land when so exhausted, and to leave it waste, as no longer capable of producing any profit from cultivation by slave labor.

In the demand for new territory, therefore, slave labor requires four times the quantity of land required by free labor, and repeats the demand as often again, and the land, when used up, returns to waste. This alone is sufficient to account for the encroachments of the South on unallotted territory; for slavery cannot stop in its progress, and if stopped for want of new land, the slaves, in their natural increase, will in time overwhelm, and eat up their masters. Thus, the time comes when the land is no longer fit for slave labor; though still perfectly fit for free labor.

This is the origin of the struggle for the dominant power in the Government between the Slave and the Free States, and since the abolition of Slavery in the Northern States, this struggle has been continued by both parties with increasing rancor and vigor.

The Southern States saw that the very existence of their social system was at stake in this question. They saw that the balance of power in the Government must be turned against them by the admission of new Free States into the Union.

With this view the conflict was fought with equal fury on both sides on the question of the admission of Kansas and Nebraska into the Union as Free States. The same view was the origin of the annexation of Florida and Texas. The antagonism of interests thus raised between the North and the South is more violent than exists between any of the Nations of Europe.

At the commencement of the present century, the purchase of Louisiana from France, and the abstraction of Florida from Spain, gave such a vast accession of territory to the South, as appeared to dispel for an indefinite time the prospect of its supremacy being disputed. To dispute its supremacy appeared, for a long time, to be so hopeless that the North almost abandoned the attempt. But the rate of immigration into the Free States so far exceeded all expectation, that their onward progress became marvellous.

In 1820, when Missouri applied for admission into the Union, the relative numbers in the Senate were so nearly balanced, that the question, whether that State should be an addition to the North or

to the South, came to be decisive of the question of the continuance of political power in the South. The importance of this question caused the desperate character of that struggle.*

The admission of a single State which had been accepted with comparative indifference before, was now a question of the addition of one to the number which was to turn the scale. This was a question of the casting vote.

As a question of Slave extension, Missouri was of no great interest, being too far North for the advantageous employment of Slaves. There was abundance of better soil in the South untouched. But, as affecting the balance of power, the importance of the Missouri question was supreme.

The contest ended in favour of the South, by the admission of Missouri as a Slave State, in 1820, accompanied by the well-known compromise, under the provisions of which Slavery was to be excluded from all the territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase, north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ latitude. For a time this restored peace, or, rather, was followed by a truce.†

The next severe struggle occurred in the admission of Texas. The seizure of that territory was another and much more easy question. The

* Spence, p. 99.

† Spence, p. 100.

Floridas had been seized from Spain, and that was a precedent for the seizure of Texas from Mexico. Between the nations concerned, there was no pretence of right for either of these acts of violence,—no more than exists in any ordinary case of robbery by violence. Both were atrocious robberies, without one mitigating circumstance beyond that which applies equally to all robberies by land, or piracies by sea,—the desire of possession by the robbers, or pirates. A few eminent statesmen and honest men in the North protested against both these transactions, and the last they denounced in these terms. But the will of the majority prevailed, and the annexation of Texas was only another crime added to the long list of crimes sanctioned by the Union.

In the condemnation of these acts it is impossible to separate the North from the South, as the North were parties to these acts of fraud and violence, and partners in the profits.

Again the political power of the South seemed to be relieved from jeopardy, for the vast extent of Texas afforded room to carve out of it four more States of average magnitude. This seemed to have settled for ever the question of political predominance in favor of its original possessors.*

* Spence, p. 102.

Two unforeseen events entirely disturbed this calculation. The admission of Texas led to the war with Mexico, and to the extension of the Union along the shores of the Pacific. The land of gold, forming an enormous addition to the Northern territory, became rapidly peopled with a population, allured from every quarter of the globe.

In the meantime, the Irish famine had occurred, and escape from want was impelling a huge wave of immigration from Ireland to the Atlantic shore.

With events so vast and irresistible it became hopeless to contend. Each census had for a long period disclosed, more and more plainly, the superior progress of the North; but the last census presented the fact in so striking a manner, that further struggle against the overwhelming tide became manifestly vain. The attempt must be abandoned in despair, or some entirely new line of action must be adopted.

In the Senate was the power on which depends the number of States. In the House of Representatives, the number of members from the Free States had long preponderated; but here the effect of numbers was neutralized by political skill. Had the North acted as one body, it would have been irresistible; but by its division into two

parties, bitterly opposed, it was in the power of the South, by uniting with one of them, to out-vote the other and command a constant majority.*

By means of this alliance the South maintained its original political supremacy, not only long after the change in relative population had removed its solid foundation, but down to the present day. In this lies the real force of the recent election of Mr. Lincoln.

It is idle to suppose that the South would have encountered the dangers and horrors of civil war simply because another candidate was preferred to its own.

The South had previously suffered defeat at presidential elections without the sound of secession being heard. But this was the first time in the history of the United States, that the election of the President was purely geographical. This was not a defeat by a party of the North, but by the Northern power, now in the ascendant. Every Northern State had voted for Mr. Lincoln; every Southern State had voted against him. It was an act which severed North from South as with the clean cut of a knife. Upon such a division Jefferson remarked long ago: "A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral

* Spence, p. 103.

and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every irritation will make it deeper and deeper.”

The Northern States had 183 votes ; the Southern, if unanimous, 120.

Hence, if the North chose to act in a mass it was irresistible. At last it did act in a mass, and Mr. Lincoln was elected. Upon that event political power departed from the South, and departed for ever ; the substance had long been gone—now the shadow followed.*

This short account is abridged from the full and admirable elucidation given by Mr. Spence in his work referred to ; and this is here given only as a connecting link in the chain of events, leading to the catastrophe, which alone is here to be dealt with.

It is quite true, as Mr. Spence remarks, that this is a conflict for power ; but it is not true, as Mr. Spence also remarks, that this is a conflict for power unconnected with the extension of Slavery. The question of Slavery, and its extension, is at the bottom of it all. It is true, as Mr. Spence says, that Slavery is not only protected by the Constitution, but, amongst other means, by that of all conceivable means, the most offensive to free men.

* Spence, p. 105.

The owner of a slave can pursue him into a Free State, where Slavery is prohibited by law, and take him back into bondage. "In the face of this," asks Mr. Spence, "can it be asserted that he may not take him into a territory where no such prohibition exists, which is not a Free State, and which of right belongs to him or his State, as much as to any other?"*

The answer to this is very plain. The Fugitive Slave law was passed when the power of the South was in the ascendant. That infamous law has been confirmed by the Supreme Court—the great tribunal of the Country, whose decision is above the law, and can annul it,—in the Dred Scott case. The Supreme Court annulled the "Missouri Compromise" which was an act of the Federal Government. The same power, in other hands, can reverse the former work. The will of the People being the only right acknowledged, the majority settles every question. The majority being now with the North, the limits of Slavery, which involve its very existence, is now in the power of the North.

This position of the Slave States has been long foreseen, and the events of the last five years have brought it into more distinct consciousness.

The desire of dominion, which, as Mr. Cairnes

* Spence, p. 111

truly says, "is the ruling passion of the Slave Power, is not accidental, but inherent—has its source not in the Constitution of the Senate, but in the fundamental institution of the Slave States." This desire can be gratified only by territorial aggrandizement,—and fully gratified only by the acquisition, to unlimited extent, of territory suitable to Slave labour. The projects of the South for extending its domain have never been more daring, or pushed with greater energy, than during the last five years,—the very period in which the Southern leaders have been maturing their plans for seceding from the Union. "Extended dominion is the very purpose for which the South is engaged in the present struggle."*

So says Mr. Cairnes, and in this he is quite right.

What says Mr. Spence?—"The prize that allures ambition is incomparably more dazzling than any hope of the earlier time. There was then the desire of independence with no accompaniment of other gain. The colonies had no material interests to be promoted by the attempted change, and there were some who looked to suffer and did suffer heavily for years.

"Here, to the old desire of independence and

* Cairnes, p. 173.

self-government, is added the escape from the thralldom of Northern monopolists, and liberation from a rule not only regarded as alien, but felt to be repulsive.

“There will indeed glitter before the eye of the aspiring an empire in the future far beyond that of the Colonist—an empire extending from the home of Washington to the ancient palaces of Montezuma—uniting the proud old colonies of England with Spain’s richest and most romantic dominions—combining the productions of the great valley of the Mississippi with the mineral riches, the magical beauty, the volcanic grandeur of Mexico—and commanding the materials of commerce throughout the wide expanse, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, no longer trammelled by the restrictions, nor taxed by the cupidity of others.”*

So says Mr. Spence, and in this he is quite right, for it is plain that the stake for which the South is now playing, is Mexico and the intervening Territories. But the question is, whether Europe shall stand by and look on as quiet spectators of this game.

* Spence, p. 287.

CHAPTER X.

TARIFFS.

MR. SPENCE'S book, Chapter V. under this head, is by far the most masterly, and least questionable, part of his whole work; and, as a compressed history of American legislation in matters of internal trade, is the most truthful and able review that has been written. It is so true, so concise, and so complete, that it is impossible to write anything truthfully on the same subject without repeating what he has already better expressed, and it is impossible to quote what he has there expressed, without injuring, by taking detached passages, the completeness of the whole. But this part of the subject is too intimately connected with the result here aimed at, to be thus passed over in these pages. Assuming, therefore, that the reader is acquainted with the Chapter referred to in Mr. Spence's book, and at the risk of some repetition, this part of the subject will be here shortly noticed, so far as is necessary for

further elucidation, with a view to the ultimate object of this inquiry.*

It is an unquestioned fact that, since the war with this Country, in 1813, the tendency of legislation in the United States has been, to the protection of their native industry; and that in this legislation the Northern States took the lead, being most interested in it.

It is unquestioned that the Southern States took part in this legislation to a great extent for a certain time.

But when, in the course of time, this principle came to be extended to the great and manifest injury of the South, the struggle between the North and the South commenced on the Tariff Question. Without going into the particulars of historical facts, rendered quite unnecessary by Mr. Spence's concise and able review, it is sufficient here to observe that the Southern States submitted for a long time to this legislation, with a full knowledge of the injury thereby inflicted upon them; and that such legislation was in direct violation of Section 8, Art. 1, of the Constitution, which provides that, "All duties, imports, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;" and of Section 9, Art. 5, which provides that, "No tax, or duty, shall be

* Spence's "American Union"—chap. v.

laid upon articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State, over those of another." Here the object is plainly to prohibit any legislation giving preferential advantage to any section of the Country. The obvious spirit of these clauses is, not so much that duties should be uniform in rate, but uniform in effect,—that their incidence should bear evenly upon all.

The chief interests of the South being in their staple productions of Cotton, Sugar, Rice and Tobacco, it must be manifest to every one that these could never come into competition with the interests and products of the North; but, on the contrary that, their interests must be in the mutual demands and supplies of their respective products and industry.

The staple products of the Slave States in the South could not be raised in the North, and the manufactories of the North could not be established in the South. Climate in the one case, and Slavery in the other, must forbid the attempt. It is as impossible to conduct manufactories profitably in the South with Slave labor, as it is to grow Cotton and Sugar in the North with any labor. In the one case, nature interposes the obstacle, in the other, man. But nature in-

terposes no division of interests; that is altogether man's work, and in this way man has worked it. The manufacturers of the North, looking to their own interests only,—but mistaking them entirely,—and utterly regardless of the interests of the South, from time to time, by new Tariffs, imposed higher duties on imports, selecting those articles for the highest duties which they most desired to protect for their own supposed advantage.

Under the false pretence that these duties were imposed for the purpose of revenue, and equally on the North and the South, it is well known that they were imposed as protection duties for the manufactories and industry of the North, thereby taxing the South without even the pretence of benefiting it, but well knowing that they were crippling its trade, ruining its resources, and reducing it to the condition of a dependent province.

These miserable triumphs of the Northern States were not obtained without great conflicts, and much fraudulent contrivance. In 1828, another struggle occurred, the effects of which have never been effaced

The interest now requiring further protection was the manufacture of textile fabrics; but to obtain support against a strong opposition, other

articles were admitted,—the hemp of Kentucky, and the lead of Missouri; so that it became a general bounty, to be paid by the Agricultural interest, for the benefit of the manufacturers and their interested and shameless allies.

In this contest of 1828, a prominent part was taken, and the trickery by which it was conducted to its successful issue, was mainly devised by, the swindling State of Pennsylvania. Ever foremost in all that has been most fraudulent, this is still a leading State.

Again, in 1832, the tariff came under revision. On this occasion, the excessive duties having produced a surplus of income, it was impossible to continue the pretence of purpose of revenue, for it became necessary to reduce them. But the object of the monopolists remained the same, and they so contrived the reductions, as not to diminish the bounties on manufactures. The injustice of this was so obvious that, an arduous struggle ensued, the South contending that the relief should be evenly distributed so as to affect all alike. This view of common sense and honesty was forcibly and eloquently urged by many members in Congress. “But,” as Mr. Spence asks;—“what effect could such appeals have on a majority impelled by mercenary motives?”—The act passed, in all its injustice.

Throughout the whole of the South this tariff was received with indignation, which, in the State of South Carolina, was expressed in very determined measures. A convention was called by her people, which passed an ordinance, declaring the tariff null and void, on the ground that Congress "had exceeded its just powers under the Constitution, which confers on it no authority to afford such protection, and had violated the true meaning and intent of the Constitution, which provides for equality in imposing the burthens of taxation upon the several States."

A Bill was introduced by Mr. Clay, and by summary proceeding, under alarm, was passed into a law, reducing gradually the duties upon manufactures. By this concession the threatened danger was averted.

The terms of this last tariff, of 1833, were understood on all sides to be a final settlement of the question.

Under its provisions the high duties on manufactures slowly but surely decreased. At length the period arrived when the full benefit of these reductions should be enjoyed by the South. In the interval, however, a concession had been made which greatly reduced the income arising from the sale of public lands, the only source of federal revenue, apart from customs duties. The

expenditure of the government had also largely increased; and thus, in 1842, the impoverished condition of the treasury afforded a pretext to repudiate the settlement, and again to advance the duties on manufactures.*

From that day to this, the fiscal system of the United States has been continuously protective, to the profit of Northern manufacturers, at the cost of the Southern agriculturalist. The real object of all the American tariffs, since 1816, has been so manifestly for the purpose of protection, and not of revenue that, no one conversant with the subject can have been deceived.

The system of protecting Northern manufactures is doubly injurious to the Southern States, in raising what they have to buy, and lowering what they have to sell.† They are the exporters of the Union, but other countries have difficulty in taking their productions, unless permitted to pay in commodities. They are willing to receive cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco, and to pay in iron, tin-plates, earthenware, woollens, etc. But if prohibited, or greatly restricted, by extravagant duties, the effect is to prohibit, or restrict, the power to buy the products of the South. It is impossible for any country long to continue to export largely, unless able to import largely.

* Spence, p. 176.

† Spence, p. 178.

Under the present American tariff, the balance of trade, must be so great against the foreign country, as to derange the monetary system, or restrict the purchases, when practically other payment than in gold is excluded.

With the rate of exchange constantly depressed, the South would receive an actual money payment much below the current value of its products. The foreigner must be driven to other markets for supplies, and thus the exclusion of foreign manufactures by the North, in effect shuts up the products of the South. This is of no importance to the Northern manufacturer who thinks only of his immediate profit by shutting out competition; but it is of the greatest importance to those who have products to sell, in exchange for goods which others wish to dispose of, and are thus prevented.

The latest specimen of American legislation in this way is, the Morrill tariff. This is such an outrage against common sense and sound policy, that it seems to verify the old Latin proverb:—
“*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*”

It is impossible to imagine any contrivance more ingenious than the Morrill tariff, for dealing injustice, restricting trade, perplexing merchants, creating disputes, encouraging fraud, and driving officers of customs to despair. And this

at a time when all other civilized countries, are reducing duties, and removing impediments to trade.

As Mr. Spence observes:—"A specific duty has the advantage of being definite, simple, and free from risk of fraud; but as prices fluctuate, it may become more light or onerous, in relation to the cost of the article, than it was designed to be. An *ad valorem* duty escapes this evil, but is without those advantages. To attach to one article two duties, one on the specific, and the other on the *ad valorem* principle, is a contrivance by which to obtain the evils of both with the advantages of neither. It is incredible, that any one reflecting on the subject, could fail to see the impolicy of imposing the two, on the same article; yet the Morrill tariff does this, not in a few instances, but generally throughout the range of manufactured goods."*

Those who wish to be better acquainted with the operation of this tariff in its working details, have only to turn to the reference here given to Mr. Spence's book.

The prominent party in this unconstitutional and fraudulent State measure was, the repudiating State of Pennsylvania; and the fraudulent

* Spence, p. 181.

means by which this Act was perpetrated are fully explained by Mr. Spence.

Here is a course of unjust taxation, on a great scale, persevered in for thirty years, by the North against the South, notwithstanding reiterated protests, and even threats, by the Southern States.

It is strange, as Mr. Spence observes, that the North should have originated, and persisted in a course, which they pretend was the cause and the justification of their revolt from the Mother Country.

On that occasion, there was a duty of three-pence per pound on tea, imposed for the profit of no special class, but for the general good. Nor was it imposed for remote objects, but to defray in part the expenses of a war entirely American, which had resulted to the benefit of the colonies, in the conquest of Canada, and thus become a debt not justly chargeable to the British taxpayer alone.*

No doubt, it will be said, the cause was, not this small duty on tea, but the principle—"Taxation without representation."

In passing the Morrill tariff there was taxation, if not without representation, at least, in the absence of representation; for then nearly all the representatives of the South had ceased to attend Congress.

* Spence, p. 191.

It is true that before that tariff passed into a law, the South had determined on secession ; but it is also true that the South well knew that such a tariff would be brought forward, and would be carried, in spite of all the efforts of the South to resist it. Nor was it the fear of that tariff, injurious as it was, which caused the secession. It was the knowledge that the representation of the South was virtually abolished, and the distrust of the South in the North, which had been long proved to be governed by no principle of honesty, or sound policy. At the bottom of it all was the fear of the South for their cherished institution of Slavery,—not any fear of the sympathy of the North for Slaves, for they knew that any such sympathy was confined to a small and comparatively uninfluential class in the North,—but the fear of further limitation of the area of Slavery, and the further extension of the Free States, which is, in effect, the complete dependency of the South upon the North,—as complete as that of a County upon a State. The Union of interest had long ceased to exist, and had become a Union of hate ; but at the bottom of it all was Slavery. The providential law has prevailed, as it ever must prevail, and has turned the evil ways of men to good ends. The Union is broken for ever, and all those who have maintained it, or

lived under it, are involved in one common ruin; the evil-doers, and the innocent sufferers, the wicked and the good, are all confounded together for a time in one common destruction; but, in the end, the faithful few will be brought out with little harm, to brighter prospects than they have ever before seen. Let those beware, who seek to restore what the Law of God has broken up. The American Union is gone for ever, and with it Slavery is doomed.

Woe will come to the Nation which now seeks to restore the Union; and Woe will come to the Nation which now shrinks from its duty. The call is gone forth to all the Nations of Europe to rise up and save, if possible, the North and the South from mutual destruction; or, by the silent force of passive resistance, to prevent them from further extending their self-inflicted injuries to other Nations. It is vain trifling to pretend to choose between the North and the South, where, to unprejudiced minds there is no choice; and, least of all, for England which, more than any other Nation, has proved its faithfulness to freedom. What can England have to fear in answering this solemn call? With what consistency can England stand by any longer a quiet spectator of this issue, without coming forward as a witness to the truth, for which she has ever been

foremost in her testimony? There is no safety in neutrality, for, "who is not with me, is against me," says the North. Let England boldly declare to North and South,—“We are with you both,—but only to save you from yourselves.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

THIS law was sold by the North, to the South, for the admission of California as a free State, and was a most disgraceful compromise.

The following is a short outline of the history of this transaction.

The annexation of extensive districts of Mexican territory in Texas to the Southern States of the Union, first by pretended purchase, for a merely nominal consideration, from parties incompetent to sell; and afterwards by conquest from Mexico, without even the shadow of a pretext, had turned the balance of power so heavily in favor of the South, as to cause great alarm in the North, and greatly to increase the confidence and audacity of the South. "The settled invincible purpose of Mexico to exclude Slavery from her limits, created as strong a purpose to annihilate her authority. The project of dismembering a neighboring republic, that slaveholders and slaves might overspread a region which had

been consecrated to a free population, was discussed in the newspapers as coolly as if it were a matter of obvious right, and unquestioned humanity.”*

A position having been obtained in Texas under pretence of purchases, and a population of border ruffians having been introduced, a rebellion was organized, and the scanty and scattered population over that vast tract of almost uninhabited country, asserted their independence, which, of course, was recognized by the Federal Government, and with little delay annexed to the Union.

The annexation of Texas was too successful a stroke of policy not to be regarded as a precedent. It was accordingly followed by the Mexican war of 1846, which resulted in an easy victory over an unequal antagonist. By the treaty concluded between the United States and Mexico, in 1848, the immense range of country, extending from Texas to the Pacific in one direction, and from the present frontier of Mexico to the Territory of Oregon on the other, and including the magnificent prize of California was added to the domain of the Republic. †

The disposal of this large spoil became at once

* Channing's Works.—Letter on Texas, quoted by Cairnes, p. 190.

† Cairnes, p. 190.

a subject of overwhelming interest, and for two years the Union was shaken by the contests which followed. The great point of interest was California, and the great question—Was it to be a free, or a slave State? The Southern party which had forced on the war and the seizure, had no other intention than to appropriate this, the richest part of the spoil. But the discovery of gold in the alluvial sands of the Sacramento, just at the time when the annexation was accomplished, had attracted thither from the North a large preponderance of free settlers, and these pronounced loudly for free institutions.

The question was settled, as so many similar questions had been settled before, by a compromise. The Slave party consented to waive its claim for a consideration, and that was the price for the purchase of the Fugitive Slave Law. This account is more fully given in Mr. Cairnes's valuable work on 'Slave Power.'*

The price was a shameful one, and equally shameful to both parties, but the intended evil was averted; and by that mysterious concurrence and combination of unforeseen events which so often makes all human contrivances drop to pieces, and converts the evil into good, out of this infamous bargain has arisen a complete

* Cairnes, p. 191.

change in the aspect of American affairs. By the vast and unforeseen influx of free settlers into the new State of California in search of gold, the preponderance of political power in the Union turned to the North; and the Fugitive Slave Law has been like the lighted torch set to the train then laid to blow up the Union, and spread destruction throughout its almost immeasurable extent.

The differences arising out of the conquests made in the Mexican war having been adjusted by the compromises of 1850, the Slave Power was again at liberty to look around, and meditate new acquisitions. The territory which had fallen to slavery under the Missouri Compromise had been appropriated; Florida had also been acquired; Texas had been annexed; New Mexico lay open, but for the present it was too distant for settlement, and the numerous tribes of Indians which inhabited it made it an undesirable abode for slaveholders, whose experience in Florida naturally rendered them averse to such neighbors. But the territory of Kansas and Nebraska was comparatively close at hand, and was inviting from its fertility and salubrity. On political grounds, moreover, there was need that the Slave Power should bestir itself.

The occasion was not unlike that which had pre-

ceded the admission of Missouri into the Union. From the passing of the Missouri Compromise, in 1820, down to the year 1850, the balance between the Free and Slave States had been fairly preserved. The North had during that time acquired Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin; the South, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas; the natural expansion of the one section had been steadily counterpoised by the factitious annexations effected by the other. But the admission of California had disturbed this equilibrium. To restore it there was need of a new Slave State; and where could this be more conveniently placed than in the rich contiguous Territory of Kansas?*

But to the realization of this scheme there was an obstacle in the way.

The Territory of Kansas was part of the great tract obtained by purchase from France in 1804, and being North of the line traced by the Missouri Compromise, was therefore by the terms of that measure withdrawn from the field of Slave Settlement.

Now, the Missouri Compromise was something more than an ordinary legislative act.

It was a compact between two great opposing interests, in virtue of which one of those interests obtained at the time valuable consideration on

* Cairnes, p. 193.

the condition of abstaining from certain pretensions in the future. It was, moreover, eminently a slaveholder's measure. "It was brought forward by a slaveholder—vindicated by slaveholders in debate, finally sanctioned by slaveholding votes—also upheld at the time by the essential approbation of a slaveholding President, James Monroe, and his Cabinet, of whom a majority were slaveholders, including Mr. Calhoun himself."* The measure was thus binding on the Slave Party by every consideration of honor and good faith.

But the Missouri Compromise had served its end, and nothing more was to be gained by maintaining it. Under it Arkansas had been added to the Slave domain. The plea was therefore set up that, the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, and this was confirmed by the Supreme Court.

Accordingly, in 1854, a Bill, known as the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, was introduced by Mr. Douglas, a Northern Democrat, and an aspirant to the Presidency. By this Bill the Missouri Compromise was abrogated, and in its place a principle was established, popularly known as the "squatter sovereignty," by which it was resolved that the future settlement of the Terri-

* Sumner's Speech, quoted by Mr. Cairnes, p. 194.

tories should be determined. The principle is thus described in the words of the Act:—"It being the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." By this plausible measure the inconvenient restraints of the Missouri Compromise were got rid of, and the ground was cleared for the operation of the Slave Power.

Meanwhile, the North, aroused, by the discussions which had taken place, to a sense of the importance of the crisis, was preparing to try issues with its opponent on the ground which it had chosen.

On the 30th May, 1854, the territory of Kansas was, by Act of Congress, thrown open to settlers; and at once from all quarters of the Free States crowds of emigrants flocked to the debatable land.

The work of settlement was pushed forward with characteristic energy by both parties from the Free and Slave States, and then came the struggle and conflict between them.*

It is not necessary here to go over this ground

* Cairnes, p. 195.

again. A summary of these historical events has been clearly and concisely given by Mr. Cairnes in his book, from which this short review has been taken, and for the purpose only of showing that the real cause of all these disputes has been,—to obtain the dominant power,—on the one side to extend the area of slavery, and on the other to restrain it within the narrowest possible limits.

On the 30th March, 1854, the Territorial Legislature was to be chosen for the new State of Kansas, and although a large majority of settlers was in favor of a free State, yet the armed violence of the minority prevailed, and a pro-slavery delegate was elected.

In the meantime this new State was given over to gangs of armed ruffians, who were not settlers, and who dealt with it at their pleasure.

The Federal Government, ratifying the Constitution which had been passed, looked on these scenes of murder and pillage in silence.

By such means the Slave Power succeeded in establishing itself in Kansas; but its reign was brief. The atrocities it had committed, at length roused a spirit in the North for which the South was not prepared.

The settlers, finding themselves betrayed by the Government which should have protected

them, rose in arms. After a desultory civil war, the Slave party was utterly defeated, the pro-slavery constitution was overthrown, and a free legislature and free institutions were established.*

The following remarks of Mr. Cairnes are too important, and too expressive of the whole truth, to be given in any other than his own words:—

“The real cause of the defeat of the South, in the Kansas struggle, it was not difficult to discover. It lay in the want of a population adapted to the purpose in hand—slavery colonization. The South had conquered the ground, but, owing to the insufficiency of its slave force, it had been unable to hold it, and the result was its defeat. The remedy, therefore, was plain. It would be necessary to increase the slave force of the South in such a manner as to put it on a par in point of disposable population with its Northern rival, and, meantime, pending the accomplishment of this result, to find means to maintain a footing in the Territories in spite of the legislation of the free-soilers. Such was the problem proposed to the South. Nothing short of this would enable the Slave Power to keep open the Territories for its future expansion, and to retain its hold on the Federal Government.

* Cairnes, p. 201.

Nothing short of this would give it predominance in the Union. There was need, therefore, of 'Thorough.' It resolved to give effect to this policy in all its fulness, or, failing this, to dissolve the Union."*

This touches the true point, and to this point the attention of the reader of these pages is directed.

It will then be seen that, to restore the Union, without supporting Slavery, is an impossibility; and that to support slavery, with the view of restoring the Union, is also impossible.

In this state of internal ceaseless commotion, and in the midst of these scenes of strife and violence, the effect upon the minds of sensible and reflecting men in the United States, and especially in the North, by the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, may be more easily imagined than expressed.

This short review of leading events previously and subsequently to the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, may help to present this measure in its true light, and to expose the object of this wicked and cruel law in all its enormity.

This Law, as its name implies, was to enable the slaveholder to pursue into a free State his fugitive slave, and to recover and bring him back

* Cairnes, p. 206.

to slavery, and it imposed heavy penalties on all who harbored or assisted the fugitive, or in any manner impeded the slaveholder in the pursuit and recovery of his property.

This law was proposed by the South, and after a long and desperate struggle against the opposition of the North, was ultimately passed by the scandalous compromise, which will for ever remain a blot on the honor of the Northern party.

The leading case which arose under this law, is the well known Dred Scott case. The facts are simple, and are thus clearly described by Mr. Cairnes.*

“A Slave of the name of Dred Scott had been carried by his master from Missouri his native State, first to Illinois, a Free State, and subsequently to the United States Territory north of Missouri, which, under the Missouri Compromise, was Free Territory. On being brought back to Missouri, the slave claimed his freedom, on the ground that his removal by his master to a Free State and Territory had emancipated him; and that, once free, he could not be enslaved by being brought again into a slave State. This demand was strictly in accordance with the prevailing course of decisions over the whole South up to

* Cairnes, p. 216.

that time ; and was thus, in conformity with precedent, conceded by the State Court of Missouri, before which it was, in the first instance, brought. But the defendant appealed against this decision, and the case came on, under a writ of error, first before the Supreme Court of the State, and ultimately, having in the interval passed through one of the circuit Federal Courts, before the Supreme Court of the Union. The result was, the reversal by a majority of the Supreme Court of the judgment of the Court below. In announcing the decision, Chief Justice Taney, who delivered judgment, laid down two principles, which went the full length of the views of the Slave party. He declared, first, that in contemplation of law there was no difference between a Slave and any other kind of property ; and secondly, that all American citizens might settle with their property in any part of the Union in which they pleased."

Mr. Cairnes goes on to add :—" Such was the momentous decision in the Dred Scott case. Its effect was to reverse the fundamental assumption upon which, up to that time, Society in the Union had been based ; and, whereas, formerly freedom had been regarded as the rule, and slavery the exception, to make slavery the rule of the Constitution. According to the law, as expounded by

the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, it was now competent to a slaveholder to carry his slaves not merely into any portion of the Territories, but, if it pleased him, into any of the Free States, to establish himself with his slave retinue in Ohio or Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania or New York, and to hold his slaves in bondage there, the regulations of Congress, or the laws of the particular State to the contrary notwithstanding. The Union, if this doctrine were to be accepted, was henceforth a single slaveholding domain, in every part of which property in human beings was equally sacred. So sweeping were the consequences in the Dred Scott decision.”*

This was a strong case, inasmuch as slavery had been prohibited by Congress,—in the Missouri Compromise,—beyond the latitude of 36° 30' North. But the Supreme Court,—the great tribunal of the Country, whose decision is above the law, and can annul it,—pronounced that Congress had no power to make that law, and, therefore, that it was null and void; and declared “that the Constitution recognizes the right of property in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen;” and further, that every citizen had the clear right to go into any

* Cairnes, p. 218.

territory, and take with him that which the Constitution recognized as his property.*

Mr. Spence, who gives this last quotation, asks:—“And how could any other decision be given?”—The answer is plain and simple:—that by the Constitution, and the statute laws of the State, and the Federal Government, Slavery could not exist in a Free State, and, consequently, that the Slave, on entering a Free State, ceased to be private property, and became his own master,—a Citizen of the free and enlightened Republic, and under the protection of its laws.

If this be not the true answer, why was the Fugitive Slave Law passed? What occasion was there for any such law? And what have all the struggles and conflicts, for so many years, between the Free and the Slave States, been about?

Chancellor Kent, who was considered to be a high authority in his own country, and is so considered in this country, has laid it down in his Commentaries, that “it is certain that the Constitution and statute law of New York speak of men of color as being citizens;” and that, “if a slave be born in the United States, and lawfully discharged from bondage, or if a black man be born free in the United States, he becomes thenceforth a citizen.” But Chief Justice Taney,—who

* Spence, p. 112.

may also be a high authority in his own country, but was never before heard of in this country,—held that colored persons were incapable of enjoying this privilege. “Such persons,” he said, “had been regarded as unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that *they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit*; that this opinion was, at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, and was regarded as an axiom in morals, as well as politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute.”*

Mr. Cairnes, very properly, gives to his English readers this opinion of Chief Justice Taney in his own words. Mr. Spence does not. No further condemnation of Chief Justice Taney can be required, than he has passed upon himself. He admits that the colored and the black races are *persons*, for he refers to them as “such persons;” and he could not be ignorant of the Declaration of Independence, which declares “that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of

* Spence, p. 216, note.

happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." He could not be ignorant that the American Constitution,—of which he was the highest expounder,—professed to be founded on this Declaration of Independence; and yet he says that this opinion, which he has so clearly expressed, "was fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, and was regarded as an axiom in morals as well as politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute."

It is a fact deserving of notice that in the document called the "Constitution," neither the word *slave* nor any of its derivations is to be found.* The institution then existed, but was abhorred, and, though tolerated, was not sanctioned. To distinguish the slaves from citizens, the slaves are referred to as "*other persons*," "*such persons*," and "*persons held to service or labor*." These are the only terms of reference, and these occur only in Article I. Sec. 2 and 9, and in Article IV. Sec. 2. As Mr. Ellison remarks:—"the framers of the famous document sought to hide the monster iniquity."

Taney, C. J. avails himself of this neutral term to hide the disgrace conveyed in the word *slave*. But is it to men such as this man—to such law-

* Ellison, Slavery and Secession in America.

makers, and law-expounders as the men who composed the majority of the Supreme Court on that occasion, that the United States are indebted for their great and rapid rise to prosperity and power? Or, is it to the vast extent of fertile land, and other natural advantages, made available by the indomitable will, and courageous industry of the People?

There can be but one answer, to this question :—that it is to the People, who availed themselves of their natural advantages, their success is owing ; not to their Government and Institutions, but in spite of them.

Is it, then, for this People to restore,—or for the Nations of Europe to help them to restore,—the Union which their Government and Institutions have broken, and brought down with such destruction and ruin of life and property? Or, is it for this great People themselves to set about revising their Constitution, and reconstructing their laws in better accordance with that model of truth and justice which they have so loudly proclaimed, and of which they have so vainly boasted? And is it not for the Nations of Europe earnestly to entreat this really great and courageous People to accept the offered mediation of England and France for the amicable settlement of disputes so deeply injurious to the best interests

of all Nations and People throughout the civilized world? By such means, and by such alone, can the evils of the past be turned to the good of the future; and then all animosities will soon be merged in mutual interests, and in the triumph of humanity will be proclaimed the good tidings of great joy, in good fellowship among all the races of mankind.

But, to the honor of the North, it should be added that, the Fugitive Slave Law has ever been a dead letter. Human nature must have changed before such a law as that could be carried out.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

THIS question has been well known to the world for many years, and though false answers are given, yet the only true answer is well and generally understood. The true answer has been so fully and so ably given by Mr. Cairnes in his book, that little can be added to make the answer more clear and conclusive. The only object is to present this question fairly on both sides, that the true answer may be clearly seen by every unprejudiced mind; and for this purpose little more will be needed than a short review of a few chapters in the two works by Mr. Cairnes and Mr. Spence, unquestionably the most able works which have yet appeared on both sides of this question,—Mr. Cairnes on “The Slave Power;” and Mr. Spence on “The American Union.”

Even the short review of historical facts already taken, seems to justify the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Cairnes:—that the career of aggression pursued by the Slave Power for the last fifty

years, forms one of the most striking and alarming episodes in modern history, and furnishes a remarkable example of what a small body of men may effect against the most vital interests of human society, when, thoroughly understanding their position and its requirements, they devote themselves deliberately, resolutely, and unscrupulously to the accomplishment of their ends.”*

Mr. Spence, on the other hand, contends that, the action of the South,—on the subject of the extension of Slavery,—though in appearance aggressive, has, in reality, been in self-defence, as a means of maintaining its political status against the growth of the North.”†

Mr. Spence, with great force of facts and arguments, for which his book must be referred to, supports his view ; so forcibly, indeed, that it is impossible to resist in great part, his conclusions. But it is impossible to maintain, that all the aggressive acts of the South have been for preserving its political status against the North ; or, to deny that these acts have been for extending the political power of the South against the North.

This view, however, does not meet the real question, which is :—What has been the cause of these aggressive acts on the part of the South, against the North ?—Or, to reverse it ;—on the

* Cairnes, p. 221.

† Spence, p. 107.

part of the North against the South? Why should not the North and the South have acted together in harmony under the Union? This is the real question, and here is the true answer.

The Union was founded on the grand truth pronounced in the Declaration of Independence; "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Taking these words in their intended signification, that all men are created equal in regard to the unalienable rights enumerated, the Constitution, purporting to be founded thereon, was falsely and wickedly framed to deny and to subvert that grand truth. The benefits of that Constitution were expressly confined to "the *free* inhabitants of the States," thereby indirectly excluding the Slave inhabitants, and admitting them to equality only with paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice, expressly excepted from the benefits of the Constitution; and thereby recognizing the institution of Slavery, already established in the States. Laws, subsequently made, confirmed that institution, and held the Slave to be a chattel, and the property of his master.

If all the States had continued to be bound by those laws, the Union,—for anything that

has appeared,—might still have held together. It would have been a Union of weakness, but it might have been still such a Union as it was from the first. But some of the States of the North, seeing the evils of Slavery, and foreseeing the evil consequences, wisely sought to escape from them, and, for their own sake, more than for the slaves, abolished Slavery in their States. If all the States had done the same,—for anything that has appeared,—the Union might still have held together, and might have been a Union of strength. But those States in which, from the natural circumstances of climate and soil, Slave labor seemed the most profitable, clung to their institution as a most cherished principle, and would not follow the example set by the North. Then the Union was virtually broken, and instead of being, as it might have been, a Union of love and strength, it has ever since been, a Union of hatred and weakness.

Human legislation could no more have prevented this, than it could have prevented the storms and tempests by conflicts of the elements in the natural world. We know that, in the moral, as in the physical, these commotions are essential for the very existence of life, and that by these means greater evils are swept away for greater good. Bad as is the present condition

of the States of America, who can doubt that their condition would have been much worse if the Union had been preserved by the maintenance of Slavery throughout. But that is the condition which the Slave States of the South have always wanted, and have, for the last fifty years at least, struggled to obtain. To talk of the object having been to preserve the balance of power between the North and the South, is a weak pretence, and very shallow deception. The balance always has been equally preserved,—much too equally,—and hence the party strife and conflicts for the weight to turn the scale. In what nation, consisting of several parts, to a certain extent independent, and under one central Government, has the balance of power ever been equal; and how can it ever be? As Mr. Cairnes well observes: “In all political confederacies particular members, or groups of members, must be inferior to other members or groups, or to the rest combined, and if this were a reason for political separation, there could be no such thing as political union. The Southern States are not more inferior in wealth and numbers to the Northern, than is Ireland to Great Britain, or Scotland to England and Ireland; yet neither Ireland nor Scotland is compelled in self-defence to pursue towards the more power-

ful confederation, of which they severally form a part, a policy of aggression. Why should it be different with the Southern States of the Union?" The true answer,—as Mr. Cairnes adds, has been foreshadowed by De Tocqueville:—"The South has been compelled to pursue a policy of aggression towards the North, not because it is less rich or less populous, but because it is different, and all the difficulties which divide North and South have originated in Slavery—in an institution which prevents the growth of interests, ideas, and aims, in which free societies can share, and which can prosper only by perpetually encroaching on their sphere." *

Mr. Spence admits that the collisions to which the question of Slavery has given rise have exercised a very large influence in producing the rupture; but he denies that Slavery has been the principal cause, for, he says, "it has never been in dispute," and that, "many of the aggressive and most reprehensible acts of the South, have really been measures of political defence. They have not had the extension of slavery as an object of desire, as an end, but simply as a means by which to maintain its political position, in face of the rapidly increasing population of the Northern power." †

* Cairnes, p. 225.

† Spence, p. 84.

It is not easy to discover the course of reasoning which has led so able a Writer as Mr. Spence to such a conclusion. He in no way disputes historical facts, with which he is well acquainted, but he seems to use them to support the strong bias of his mind in favor of the South. Now, because he is so able a Writer, and applies his arguments with so much force, and often with so much truth, it becomes necessary to examine his conclusions with greater care. Here he seems to have given a fair opportunity of examining his reasoning, and exposing its fallacy.

There is some degree of vagueness in the phrase—"simply as a means by which to maintain its political position;"—but taking the meaning to be—to maintain its political influence in the Federal Government;—how far does this really help him to his conclusion? How can it, even in his own view, however expressed, be a means by which to maintain political position, or political influence, otherwise than by extending the limits of Slavery? The political position or influence of the South is no otherwise brought into question. Take away the question of Slavery, and where is the difference between a Southern and a Northern State. The difference could not have consisted in climate soil and products, and if these were the difference,

that difference could not have operated to the prejudice of the South, for in the South the preponderance of influence had always been maintained. If the climate soil and products of the South had operated to diminish the influence of the South in the central Government, how could the preponderating influence of the South have been so long preserved? And how could the South hope to maintain its influence by any means, as long as its climate and products remained the same?

The very statement of such reasoning as this in its plain meaning, shows the fallacy of the conclusion drawn therefrom. It is simply a confusion of cause and effect. Assuming that the cause or causes were in the climate the soil and the products,—and this must be the meaning of the reasoning if there be any meaning in it,—these causes could not be removed by any means;—nor could any increased influence obtained by the extension of the area of Slave Power, if extended beyond the limits where it could be profitably employed, be permanently maintained. The admission of the well-known fact that, Slave labor cannot stand in competition against Free labor beyond the limits of the Southern Climate, is frequently made by Mr. Spence. He also admits that Slave labor

is unsuited to manufactories, because, for many reasons, less profitable than Free labor ; and he also admits that Slave labor and Free labor do not work well together. But these are facts so well known that nobody ventures to deny them.

As long as the vast tracts of waste land in the South remained unoccupied, and were ample resources for the Planters in the rapid destruction of their fertile soils by their exhausting crops, the prosperity and dominant power of the South were maintained by the extraordinary energy of the people against all impediments ; but as these resources diminished, their prosperity and political power diminished in proportion ; and, moreover, that diminution from natural causes has been very rapidly hastened by the means which they took to prevent the inevitable consequences. The natural causes in diminished resources were insignificantly small, and, with such vast tracts of fertile land still remaining unoccupied, must have continued to be insignificantly small for a great and indefinite length of time ; but the great and ever-increasing cause in Slavery, was in constant and active operation, hostile,—if not to the interests of the South,—at least, to the interests and feelings of the North.

These natural causes, added to this unnatural cause, with the more rapidly increasing popula-

tion of the Free States, sufficiently account for the loss of power in the Slave States, and at the same time show the real cause to be in the institution of Slavery. But the right of self-government secured by the Constitution to each separate State still remained, and no desire had been shown on the part of the Federal Government to infringe upon that Constitutional right.

How much longer the Union might have been preserved, if Slavery had been excluded, is another question, and one which will never arise for answer; but this is a question which received the consideration of many of the able men who helped to form the Union.

Jefferson wrote thus forty years ago:—"I have been amongst the most sanguine in believing that our Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance. My only comfort and confidence is, that I shall not live to see it."

Washington expressed the same fears.

It was a serious question in his mind whether so great an extent of territory was not too large to be held permanently under one rule. That fear was expressed when the Union embraced only the thirteen original States. Curtis, in his History of the Constitution, observes: "Many of

the wisest of the Statesmen of that period, as we know, entertained doubts whether the Country embraced by the thirteen original States would not be too large for the successful operation of a republican government." De Tocqueville, in many passages, expresses his opinion that the Union could not endure. He says: "The history of the world affords no instance of a great nation retaining the form of republican government for a long series of years."

The rapid growth of the Union has, no doubt, produced a great change in the original views, and has let into the question, of the expediency of continuing the Union, many considerations,—independently of Slavery,—which at the commencement did not arise, and were then too remote to be foreseen. But, for anything which has appeared to the contrary, all the difficulties which these considerations suggest might have been adjusted and reconciled with the Union, if the question of Slavery had not existed. The immeasurable space over which the Union has extended, and the variety of new interests which have consequently sprung up, would have produced many and serious difficulties under one central and distant Government; but none of these need have been insuperable difficulties to a people united by their common feelings of

mutual interests. But the interests between Free and Slave States never could be mutual, and with the common feelings of humanity exasperated by an outrage of nature, it was not likely that mutual interests would meet with dispassionate consideration.

Thus, from every point of view the institution of Slavery is found to be at the bottom of every question, and to be the spot of blood which cannot be washed out.

What, then, remains to be done, but to meet all the difficulties together and at once, and, by separating them, to master them.

That this must be a painful conclusion to a people who have largely indulged in boastfulness and national self-esteem, is a natural consequence, but being a people of great and noble qualities, they will soon be reconciled to the change which relieved them from that spot of blood, which is like a plague spot upon the whole Nation.

De Tocqueville observed :—“ For the last fifty years no pains have been spared, to convince the inhabitants of the United States, that they constitute the only religious, enlightened, and free people. They perceive that for the present, their own democratic institutions succeed, whilst those of other countries fail; hence they conceive an overwhelming opinion of their superiority, and

they are not very remote from believing themselves to belong to a distinct race of mankind.”

Under all the existing circumstances, it is impossible to imagine anything more really beneficial to the North than its separation from the South. For the preservation of its own self-government and free institutions, there was no remedy left but separation—the amputation of the limb which threatened mortification to the whole body. This operation once performed, however painful at the time, restores the natural vigor to the whole body. But the metaphor of the amputated limb fails when the South is regarded as a separate and living body. Shut up by itself, with the plague spot upon it, the progress of contagion beyond its own body will be stopped, and must, in time, work itself out. In the meantime the body lives and suffers; but the suffering is through that providential law which thus mercifully works out its own right end.

The true interests of the North and the South are essentially the same, but the Union, based on Slavery, failed to prove this truth. There is no doubt that, if the South had obtained the upper hand, Slavery would have been extended all over the Union. The North has shown what it would do when it could, by doing it as soon as it could. It passed the Morrill Tariff. This

act alone is sufficient to show that the Union had ceased to be a Union of interest, and had become a Union of hate. Blinded by the passion of hatred, the North thereby inflicted a deadly blow on the South, and meant it to be so; but the blow will fall no less heavily on the North. Unwise in its generation the North will learn from experience, and must pay the usual penalty. But before that blow was struck, secession had been determined upon by the South, and the Union was virtually broken.

The moral and political effects of such a Union as the North with the South, are well described in the words of Dr. Channing, written long before the occurrence of this event: "The Slave oligarchy of the South, and the capitalist of the North, the great Planters and the great Manufacturers, divided as they were on some points of policy, yet brought a concerted power to bear upon public opinion, until the mean law of mercenariness took full possession of political parties. The moral degradation that ensued was awful. The United States were thus presenting to Christendom the spectacle of a Nation nobly born, purely bred, rarely privileged, even yet in its youth, sinking into decrepitude, and wasting away through political profligacy."

The objects of the Union, as stated in the pre-

amble of the Constitution, were "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." Which, if any, of these objects, have been attained? Can any impartial person say that one of these objects have been obtained through the Union?

It was the object of the founders of the Republic that the judges should occupy a position of dignity and independence; but has that object been obtained? The control of the Federal Government extends only to the Supreme Court and its branches. The judges of that Court are selected by the President, with the approval of the Senate, virtually for life; their salaries cannot be diminished during tenure of office, and from their decisions there is no appeal. As already shown, the Supreme Court claims and exercises the right to sit in judgment on the Acts of the Legislature, and to over-rule and annul them. The Supreme Court is, therefore, the interpreter of the Constitution, and the chief power in the Union. Could this have been one of the objects of the founders of the Republic? And if it were so, is this an object conducive to the interests of the Republic, or consistent with the principles of the Union? Assuming that the Supreme Court has commanded the respect

of the whole people,—as Mr. Spence says it has,*—assuming that the judges who preside in this Court are beyond the reach of party influence,—still it cannot be assumed that they are beyond the reach of all the infirmities common to human nature.

It is difficult to assume that a judge of this Court, born and bred in a Slave State, and an Owner of Slaves, should be free from all prejudice in favor of the institution of Slavery, and that such prejudice should not influence his judgment in the discharge of his judicial duties; and it is equally difficult to assume that a judge of this Court born and bred in a free State, and accustomed to regard Slavery with detestation, should not be subject to a strong prejudice against that institution, and that such prejudice should not influence his judgment in the discharge of his judicial duties; but it is impossible to suppose that the power of appointing such judges should not be a perpetual object of passionate struggle and vindictive conflict between the Northern and the Southern parties. And so it always has been; but the cause is to be found in the institution of Slavery, and to this all the vindictive feelings which exist are to be attributed.

In all countries submitting to government the

* Spence, p. 63.

passions are apt to be excited, on particular occasions, between contending parties, and, inasmuch as one party must ultimately prevail over the other, the feelings of vexation under defeat must follow. But the great difference between the United States and other civilized Countries is this:—that in other countries when the question is settled, the angry feelings subside; whereas, in the United States, the question being never settled, never at rest, the angry feelings never subside, and the evil passions never cease to work. The unattainable object is for ever before both parties, and, with more or less hope of success, both parties are for ever in a state of rancorous conflict, each impelled by the sense of justice on his own side, and the thorough conviction of his own self-interest.

This is what the Union has done, and, to restore this Union, the North is now carrying death and destruction of property through all the States, and fixing upon the whole country a Debt which will require many generations of peace and prosperity to pay off, if not—which is far more probable—repudiated.

On this lamentable spectacle of a great nation deliberately destroying itself, the Nations of Europe look down from their fancied security, as if unconcerned spectators. In England the general

feeling of indifference is hardly attempted to be disguised, and it is difficult to discover on which side, if on either, any preference is displayed. At the commencement of the civil war, the prevailing feeling in England appeared to be with the North, and against the Slavery of the South. But this feeling has since undergone a great change, and, perhaps, may now be considered as turned in favor of the South. This change may be in a great measure accounted for by the extraordinary and dishonorable conduct of the North towards England in the affair of The Trent, and by the hostile spirit generally expressed by the North against England, for some pretended causes utterly unknown in England; and, undoubtedly, to the many atrocities committed by the North in the conduct of the war, against all the usages of civilized Nations.

That sympathy should have arisen for the weaker party in this unequal conflict, struggling for what it believes to be its just rights, and best interests, is only in the natural course of humanity. The horrors of Slavery are for the time forgotten in the greater horrors of this civil war; the original cause is overlooked, or overwhelmed in the general indignation; but the original cause remains as it was; the South is fighting for Slavery; the North against Slavery.

This is the true view of the case, to be ever kept before the Nations of Europe, as the only real ground for their mediation, and, if necessary, for their interference. This view should be no more interrupted or prejudiced by the insulting language of the North, or by the vindictive rancour of the South, than the treatment of an infant should be affected because it beats its nurse. The injustice of a blockade of three thousand miles of sea-coast, and the injuries thereby inflicted on neutral Nations, involve points of too much nicety in the present state of international law, to furnish any safe ground for forcible interference. But the abolition of slavery is a safe ground, on which all nations may take their stand, and no nation should come forward as a mediator, even on this ground, unless prepared to enforce mediation, if necessary, by every lawful means.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION.

So much has been written on this question that, to write anything more about it may seem superfluous. But this is too important an ingredient in the American Question to be passed over without remark.

In all the various views for the emancipation of slaves, defect of title seems to have been too little regarded. The advocates for abolition with compensation assume a good title; whereas, it was bad *ab initio*.

That the right of property in the slave has been recognized by the American Constitution, must be admitted; but that it has ever been sanctioned by the Constitution is denied.

That the recognition of a great wrong, for so many years, established a fair ground for some compensation from the Government, to the parties losing by the righting of that wrong, may be admitted, *without prejudice*.

The right of property in slaves has been too

long recognized by the Constitution and Laws of the United States to be a fact now open to dispute; but the amount of compensation to be paid for withdrawing that recognition, and substituting prohibition, is another question, resting on very different ground, when dealing with an acknowledged and sanctioned right of property.

To make those pay again for the wrong which they have already paid for righting, as far as they could, is not quite reasonable.

But it is easier to talk of paying, than to find the means. The purchase money for upwards of four millions of slaves, would be, at a moderate computation not less than five hundred millions of pounds, sterling.

The amount of compensation, if any, is a question for the American Government alone to determine.

If the emancipation be immediate, the relief to the slave-owner is also immediate, and it would be easy to show that he would be no loser, with the services of his former slaves as free laborers, at fair wages.

If slaves be chattels, as alleged to be, and so treated, what is to prevent the Government from imposing an *ad valorem* tax upon them, as upon all other chattel property in the United States? In that case the slave-owner would be better able

to appreciate his relief in emancipation ; and that would very fairly affect the question of compensation. On a fair statement of the account, and taking into the calculation all the risks, uncertainties, and losses of slave labor, it would be very difficult for the slave-owner to make out any case for compensation. And if the value of the Slave were fixed by the owner himself, and the tax were assessed accordingly, and if the value so fixed were made the redemption price, at which the slave should be entitled to freedom, it would be difficult for the slave-owner to find a just ground of complaint against the tax so levied, or the compensation so paid on the owner's own valuation.

But, for the slaves themselves, it may, perhaps, be a safer way of settling the question, to fix some distant period when Slavery shall cease ; though the apprehended dangers of immediate emancipation are very much exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded. That period might be determined by some such limitations and conditions as the following :

1. A scale of redemption to be agreed upon, and the maximum prices to be fixed by law.

2. All children born after the date of the last American Census, in the year 1860, to be free, and to be maintained, until 15 years old, by their masters.

3. Husband and Wife not to be separated, and Children not to be separated from their Parents.

4. If a male slave purchase his own freedom, he is to be entitled to demand the freedom of his wife, without purchase.

5. If a child purchase the freedom of the Father, such child shall be entitled to demand the freedom of the Mother, without purchase.

6. No slave to be removed into another State, under any circumstances, and any Slave so removed by the master to be *ipso facto* free.

7. Associations in aid of self-emancipation to be sanctioned by law.

8. Slavery not to be extended beyond 36° 30" latitude north, and any slave setting foot beyond that limit to be free.

9. No slave to be forced to labor at field-work before sun-rise, or after sun-set.

10. The Fugitive Slave Law to be repealed.

11. All Laws against the education of slaves to be repealed.

12. The mutual right of searching ships, suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, to be acknowledged by all nations. Such trade to be declared Piracy. Every ship with slaves on board to be condemned and burnt, and all engaged therein to be punished as pirates.

13. Any slave-holder found guilty of killing,

maiming, wounding, or otherwise ill-using a slave, to be punished by law, as if the same crime or offence had been committed against a free person.

14. In all such cases the evidence of slaves to be received in Courts of Justice.

15. Slavery to cease absolutely in the year 1900, when all slaves are declared to be Free.

Whether these Articles, or any of them, should be made part of the terms of mediation, and be included in the treaty to be settled by the Commissioners, is a question on which no opinion is here offered.

These terms seem to extend sufficient regard to the assumed right of property in the slave, and, at the same time, to extend all the protection which can now be offered to the slave.

The limitation of the area of slavery, and its certain extinction in 37 years, would be all that the Free States could justly demand, or would much care about, the antipathy to the negro race being as great in the Northern as in the Southern States, if not greater.

Thus, the Slave Power, shut up in its own domain and the period of its possible duration determined, might with much confidence be left to that gradual decay which, all experience has shown, must follow when so confined.

On other terms than these, or in other than the

spirit of these, it is to be hoped that the British Government will never acknowledge the Independence of the Southern Slave States of America.

It is said that, the British Government has never refused to recognize the independence of a nation on the ground that it maintains the institution of Slavery. But that is not the present question. The case of a nation setting up its claim to independence, for the first time, on the basis of slavery, has never before arisen.

The British Government could not consistently withhold its recognition of an independent nation because it admitted slavery; but with much less consistency could the British Government recognize that as an independent nation which now, for the first time, sets up its claim to independence, and holds to slavery as a most cherished institution. For Great Britain to acknowledge, countenance, and support such a nation would be to deny the cause of liberty which the British Nation has been foremost to defend and maintain, and has maintained at a great cost of life and treasure.

The British People will never be induced to depart from this great principle by any fears of consequences to themselves, or by any selfish mercenary views.

All such views must be false, and from them no good can ever come.

The Cotton monopoly in the South, if not the market itself, is gone for ever, in any event. Other and vaster cotton fields will be found, and there will open a far wider expanse for the employment of free labor, and far larger and more secure supplies of cotton to Great Britain, than ever could have been furnished by the slaveholders of the Southern States of America. In the meantime, England will have to pay for that slavery which Spain first planted in America, and which England perpetuated.

In this way Posterity always pays for the wrongs of Ancestors. This is the old old lesson,—of “the visitation of the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation,”—to be learnt.

If that lesson be rightly learnt by the British People, they will continue to keep clear of the South, until they have come to a satisfactory understanding on this question of slavery, and then they will come forward only as mediators.

With the North, this is only a question of the Union; but that is gone for ever. The combined powers of Europe could not restore it, and have no interest in restoring it, if they could.

But—what, if the offer of mediation be rejected?

Is there to be an Emancipation War?

No.

War can be justified only on the ground of defence against aggression. On no other ground can war between nations be justified. On any other ground war violates every principle.

On the present occasion, the North has violated every right principle in this aggressive war on the South. The North has assumed over the South the right of sovereignty which never existed.

The South has only defended the sovereignty of its own States. The prudence of this act is another and different question, for the South alone to determine.

The sovereignty of the separate States of the Union was only partially surrendered, for the purposes expressly specified. The powers surrendered are also expressly specified, and all beyond are specially reserved to each separate State. These sovereign powers have always been exercised by the separate States, and have never before been questioned.

To say that the Union was intended to be perpetual, because so expressed, is to give an interpretation to a few words contrary to the spirit of the whole, and such interpretation is contradicted by the fact that, the terms of the first Union are different from the terms of the

second, and both were declared to be perpetual. The word "*perpetual*" could only mean, during the pleasure of the sovereign States which composed the Union, otherwise the sovereign power of each State was held only during the pleasure, and at the will of the Union; and then, at the will of the Union, any separate State might have been converted into a county, or any number of States might have been merged into one State, or the whole of the United States might have been consolidated into one State, and the Republic into a Monarchy.

It is no answer to say that, this would be contrary to the express terms of the Convention, for, if, as assumed by those who thus argue, the sovereign power passed away from the separate States by the Union, and then became vested in the Federal Government of the United States, the sovereign power was then in the Federal Government absolutely, without control, because there could be no superior power to control it. This proves too much, and more than is contended for, but it proves that any such construction was never contemplated, much less intended, by the framers of the Union.

Many of our own Acts of Parliament are made perpetual, but few Sessions pass without altering, amending, and revoking those Acts. It would be

a monstrous doctrine which maintained that the sovereign power which makes, cannot unmake, and most inconsistent if maintained by those who framed the Constitution, declaring the sovereign power to be in the People. For a Democratic Republic to say that the unanimous voice of eight millions of the People,—one-fourth of the whole nation,—is to go for nothing on such a question as this, presents the democratic republican principle, at least, in a new point of view.

No rational ground has been given by the South, for the hostile interference of the North. The forcible taking of Fort Sumter by the South is justified by the sovereignty of the Southern State in which that Fort is situated.

It was an act of unjustifiable aggression on the part of the North to attempt to hold that Fort against the sovereign State which claimed it, and resumed possession of it, as the owner.

The right of authority in the Federal Government had already ceased by the secession of that State, and to attempt to hold possession by force was treason against the sovereignty of that State, and a gross violation of the terms of the original Union.

All arguments founded on the impolicy and inconvenience of this rule, apply to the imperfect nature of the Constitution, and in no way affect

the right of the Sovereign State. The founders of the Constitution should have thought of that when they declared the independence of each State, and the sovereignty of the People.

The founders did think of that when they were framing the Constitution, and they foresaw the danger, but they did not see how to avoid it, consistently with their own declared principles.

In this they were consistent, and all their hopes and fears they have recorded.

They never proposed a consolidation of the States. On the contrary, they expressly declared in Article 3, that:—"The several States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare."

These words expressly contradict the pretence of consolidation, and any such notion was repudiated in the most direct terms by all who took part in forming the Union. Their recorded words are so clear on this point as to leave no possible doubt of their intention.

No regrets for the defects of the Constitution can now avail to alter its true construction.

The absurdity of the attempt to combine so many separate, and distant, independent, sovereign States in "a firm league of friendship with

each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare," did not prevent them from making the attempt. To use the absurdity as an argument to prove that something else was intended than that which is so clearly expressed, is only to make the original absurdity still more absurd. But there would have been no absurdity in this "firm league of friendship," if the American People had been so much unlike all other People, as to be what they ought to be, but are not. The absurdity consists in supposing the American People, including the Slaveholders, different from what they are; and the wonder is that such an incongruous compound as the American People, spread over so many thousands of miles of the earth's surface, should have held together so long as they have.

This is the real marvel of the Constitution, not that it has broken down.

On every ground of complaint which has been stated or suggested between the North and the South, the answer is, that each party has connived at it, and participated in it.

This answer is complete for showing that if both parties will now lay down their arms, mediation between them is a very simple affair.

The neutral course which the nations of Europe

have pursued, under great aggravations, throughout this lamentable conflict, is the best guarantee for the prudence of their future proceedings, and the wise policy of France in her invitation to the Nations of Europe to join her in the offer of mediation is a measure of mercy and humanity which ought to be no longer deferred. To wait until mediation be asked, is to defer the remedy until exhaustion has taken away the power of resistance. This is a more cold-blooded than humane calculation. It is less generous and less wise to wait, and it is far nobler to help to lift up the fallen whilst they have yet the strength to stand.

It is for the interest of Europe that the North and the South should stand, each in the unimpaired strength of its own independent sovereignty. The climate, the soil, and the people, all declare for separate and independent sovereignties.

The attempt to unite under one bond of union these discordant and irreconcilable qualities, after the experience of nearly a century, has proved abortive. What hope remains for restoring that union which mutual interests could not hold together, and which exasperated feelings, from a mutual sense of wrongs, have severed?

It is not for the world's interests that this Union should be restored. But it is for the in-

terests of the world that the Northern and the Southern States of America should be established and maintained as two great and independent sovereign Powers. That extent of territory and abundance of materials are ample, nobody doubts.

That the nations of Europe are interested in the establishment of prosperous and powerful independent sovereignties in the North and in the South, is so manifest, on every ground of policy, that it may be assumed.

For what, then, but to gratify the worst of human passions, is this conflict continued?

And for what are the Nations of Europe looking on, as unconcerned spectators, at this desolating civil war?

What can happen but more destruction of human life and property, and the wilder exasperation of despair?

For the true interests of the North, nothing can be more desirable than its separation from the South. The South has pursued a policy of aggression towards the North, not because the South is less rich or less populous than the North, but because the interests of the South are supposed to be different from those of the North; but all these supposed differences, when closely examined, will be found to originate in slavery, which prevents the growth and amalgamation of

natural interests, and is incompatible with free societies.

Then,—Why not separate?

If reason cannot prevail, what hope that armed force ever will? When has conviction ever been carried to a People by force of arms?

Has not force always failed in the end?

Look at Poland.

With natural capabilities for one of the noblest kingdoms of the world, has Poland been a union of strength to Russia? Has not the strength of Poland been the weakness of Russia? And will not the restoration of Poland to independent sovereignty, in the time to come, be Russia's strength?

Nationalities are determined by Nature, and cannot be obliterated by Man.

For proof of this fact, what further example can be required than Poland?

What greater acts of atrocious tyranny could have been inflicted by one nation upon another, for obliterating its nationality, than have been inflicted by despotic Russia, on unhappy Poland; and yet who can say that Polish nationality is gone?

As a Nation, Poland is gone; but Polish nationality still lives, and lives to restore Poland as a Nation. Such a People can never be destroyed,

but by themselves. The sympathy of the whole world is with them—at least, of the whole civilized world; and Russia is still only emerging from the barbarous Nations, the vast majority of its countless hordes being still uncivilized barbarians, and the small minority, with rare exceptions, but half civilized.

Force long persisted in against a brave and determined people must ever excite a large portion of sympathy for a persecuted people.

Already is this sympathy showing itself for the People of the Southern States of America, and there is in human sympathy a moral force which wisdom will not under-value. This it is which brings to bear that passive resistance which never dies, and which, though slower, is more sure, and often more effectual than open force.

When forcible aggression cannot be justified, passive resistance is the safest and surest remedy.

In the present case, forcible aggression has been wholly on the part of the North, and already sympathy is excited for the South, as for a persecuted people defending their rights, however mingled with unrighteous acts on their part. The origin in Slavery is, for a time, lost sight of. But by passive resistance this evil will be exposed in all its nakedness, and then its horrid deformity will be seen, and human sympathy will turn away disgusted.

Not by violence, but by determined resistance, will this evil be rooted up.

It is very questionable whether the intemperate language of many of the leaders of the Abolition party has not much more retarded than advanced the emancipation of slaves ; but this is certain, that it has greatly aggravated the exasperated feelings of the South against the North, and made emancipation a much more difficult question than it would otherwise have been.

The difficulties of slave emancipation in the South have always been greater than in the North. From the causes already explained, Slavery had never taken very firm root in the North. Slavery in the North became, with the growth of society, constantly less profitable, and the total number of slaves in the North formed but a small fraction of the whole Northern population ; moreover, the Northern States had, in the markets of the South, a ready means of ridding themselves, at a trifling loss, of a class which had become an incumbrance. As Mr. Cairnes remarks : “ The Northern people did not emancipate negroes who were enslaved, but they provided for the extinction of slavery by legislating for the freedom of their offspring. The future offspring of the Slave having, by the Law of a particular State, been declared free, the Slave himself lost a portion of his value in that State.

But in the South these laws had no force, and, consequently, in the South the value of the slave was unaltered by the change. The effect, therefore, of the Northern measure of abolition was, for the most part, simply to transfer Northern Slaves to Southern markets, and thus Virginia became the chief slave market of the South. In this way, by an easy process, without incurring any social danger, and with only a slight pecuniary loss, the Northern States got rid of slavery." * De Tocqueville remarks to the same effect.

But the abolition of Slavery in the South cannot be carried out by any such means. There is no market to which the Slaves can be transferred. In the South, abolition must be by emancipation only, and then arises the question,—What is to become of the emancipated, and where are they to go?

The difficulties of this question are, no doubt, increased by the fact that, the Slave population forms one-third of the whole population of the Southern States, and in some States one-half.

Abolitionists, on whom no responsibility rests, perhaps, regard this part of the question too lightly, and Statesmen, in dealing with it, may, prudently, treat it more seriously. It may be better that emancipation should be gradual, than sudden; but it were better sudden, than not at all. Some say—

* Cairnes, p. 133.

wait, till Slave labor becomes unprofitable. That might be wise, if the result could be foreseen within a reasonable time. But what is a reasonable time?

It is said—the Southern States will turn abolitionists when Slavery ceases to pay. No doubt. But when will it cease to pay? Not whilst fertile lands remain for its supposed profitable employment. And who can say when the large extent of fertile land at present under cultivation, and the vast expanse of yet unoccupied, but no less fertile, land will be so far worked out and exhausted as to be unprofitable for Slave labor, with all the capital in the purchase of that labor expended?

It is said that, within the last few years, the cost of the maintenance of Slaves has risen upwards of 100 per cent. But, in the meantime, has not the value of Slaves risen in nearly the same proportion? And does not this prove that the profitable employment of Slave labor has not yet diminished? And does not the increased price of provisions operate equally against free labor, as against Slave labor? But, as long as the Slave fetches any price, it seems to be evidence that he is considered to be, at least, worth more than his keep. All these are reasons for endeavoring to limit the duration of Slavery by stronger means than a confined area for its profitable continuance,

or waiting for its extinction from a sense of justice.

That Slavery in the South has operated to prevent the natural increase of rents, by confining cultivation to the rich soils, is clearly proved by a comparison of the rent of lands of equal quality in the Free and Slave States; and, on the authority of Mr. Olmsted, the mere difference in favor of the Free States would be more than sufficient to buy up the whole Slave property of the South. Without assuming the fact to this extent, it is obvious that the tendency must be to create a great disparity between the growth of rent in the Free and Slave States; and that the more the limits for the employment of Slave labor are confined, the stronger will be this tendency to the abolition of a system fraught with such baleful effects to the country and to the people.

But it is a groundless hope, from this position, to infer that slaveholders will ever be induced voluntarily to abolish slavery. They are perfectly aware of the superior prosperity of the Free States, but they persist in attributing this to every cause but the right one. Many of them see the advantages to be expected from the change in the future, but they see in the transition from slavery to freedom, great present inconvenience, loss, and in many cases ruin, and that these would be the

consequences of sudden emancipation it is impossible to deny. The accumulated results of two hundred years of injustice and cruelty, and disregard of human rights, are not to be evaded without some sacrifice, and the Southern Slaveholders are not the people to devote themselves willingly for the good of their country.

They see in the abolition of Slavery a new order of things, and the loss of that ascendancy of power in the Union for which they have been so long struggling, but chiefly for the maintenance of their cherished institution.

In this view of the question it may be seen how groundless is the hope, that the Slave party should be bought over by the Federal Government through the offer of a liberal compensation after the precedent of Great Britain, dealing with her West Indian possessions.*

It is in vain to hope that this wealthy and powerful party will ever consent to abandon its cherished institution and ambitious views of extended territory and power, for any money compensation which can be offered for the freedom of the Slaves.

But if the question be fairly dealt with, as here proposed, there is good ground for hope that a final and satisfactory settlement will be secured,

* Cairnes, p. 140.

and at no distant period. The limits of Slavery once defined and narrowed, and the period for its duration fixed, it is then only a question of time, and of time not longer than may be necessary for safety in the change, nor shorter than sufficient to allow reasonable compensation. In the meantime the bonds of slavery will be gradually loosened, and masters and slaves will be better prepared for the change in the end. For this the moral influence of mankind will be stronger than any physical force which can be brought to bear upon the South, and the recognition of the independence of the Southern States by the Free States of the North, and by all the Nations of Europe, will be a far higher offer than any money compensation which could be proposed. Who can venture to say that such an offer, if now made, would be refused? But if made by the North and refused by the South, how immeasurably higher would be the position of the North in this question then, than it is now;—and how much worse would then be the position of the South, under all the aggravated odium of the civilized world!

And what higher inducement can be wanted by the North for making this offer, than to stop the frightful civil war now raging, to abolish slavery, to restore peace and prosperity, and to es-

tablish the equal sovereignty of all the States, leaving each State to form its own government and its own Union, and leaving it open to all again to unite under one Flag, "in order to form a more perfect Union," when all differences between Free States, and Slave States, are forgotten.

For what, then, is the North fighting? If to restore the Union, success would be fatal to the Slaves. The people of the North, the President and the Congress, have shown no unwillingness to support Slavery. To perpetuate the Union, they would consent to perpetuate Slavery for ever.

The policy of the Government would be to avert a fresh outbreak by granting every conceivable privilege to the Slave-owner. The object of the Government would be to buy or bribe back the affections of the estranged South, and to efface the bitter memories of the past. Within limits, to be imposed only by a sense of shame, it is difficult to imagine any concessions too great to be granted. Every link with a flaw in the chain which binds the slave would be welded anew. The Abolitionists would be cast aside, but not extinguished. The hope of abolition only would be extinguished.

This is the view of Mr. Spence,* and in this

* Spence, p. 159.

result he is quite right. The restoration of the American Union, would be the establishment of Slavery in the South for indefinite time.

But if the Southern Confederacy maintain its independence, and if the price of recognition by the Northern States, and the independent Powers of Europe, be the acceptance of terms in the spirit of those here proposed, the objects of all parties will be accomplished by peace, on the strongest basis of mutual prosperity, and acknowledged rights. It will clearly be open to the Governments of the Nations of Europe to decline to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy, without express and satisfactory conditions and guarantees in relation to Slavery. Herein lies the power to settle this question. The passive resistance of the Nations of Europe can accomplish what the States of the North, unaided, never can accomplish. And here is the ground for mediation by the Powers of Europe;—a ground preserved by a neutrality which cannot be impeached.

It has been truly said, and by an American writer, that the Union has been the shield of Slavery. It is true that Slavery has been sheltered under the wing of the American Eagle. Dissolve the Union—and Slavery must stand out unshielded in the light of day.*

* Spence, p. 164.

From these remarks it will be seen that, no value is attached to the scheme of abolition proposed in the last Message of President Lincoln. It cannot be expected that the Confederate States should now accept, or even entertain, any such terms. They have shown their determination that the Union shall be dissolved, and that must be assumed to be the basis, whatever the terms.

It is too late now for the North to talk to the South about Slavery, until the dissolution of the partnership shall have been declared dissolved by mutual consent ; or, at least, until that shall have been agreed upon. But, with a view to mediation, there are many terms in President Lincoln's Message on the Slavery question, and in the general tenor and tone of the whole Message, which offer great encouragement. Nothing more moderate or conciliatory to the South than this Message could have been expected in the present state of affairs. It proposes a scheme for gradual emancipation, or rather for emancipating the next generation of slaves. These terms, if offered at the beginning of the dispute, might have prevented the bloody war which is now raging. But in those days, before the stubbornness of the Southern resistance had been experienced, the idea of such concessions would have been rejected with disdain by the North. But to admit

these terms the American Constitution must be amended. The Constitution and State rights, so long forgotten, are now appealed to once more. Mr. Lincoln commits his scheme to the "Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring." Should it be satisfactory, then Articles will "be proposed to the Legislatures or Conventions of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures or Conventions, are to be valid as a part or parts of the said Constitution." This is the proceeding enjoined by the 5th Section of the American Constitution of 1787, by which a machinery for altering the Constitution from time to time is devised, and this fundamental compact may be modified by the vote of two-thirds of each House of Congress, and three-fourths of the States. On this firm legal ground Mr. Lincoln once more takes his stand. This was the proceeding recommended to the President, in a private Letter addressed to him by the Writer of these pages, in the year 1861, shortly after his election, and before hostilities had actually commenced, but not before preparations for hostilities had been made on the part of the South.

In that Letter it was stated that the time for any such terms would soon be passed, and that the opportunity, if then lost, would be lost, with the Union, for ever.

That prediction may now be considered as fulfilled. A copy of the Letter to the President was sent to several of the leading members of his Government, and to several of the leaders of the Abolition party, but was then unnoticed. The notice now comes too late for that repair, which, probably, if effected, would have been only temporary and imperfect. The time has now arrived for a much more satisfactory and permanent settlement. As Mr. Chase says—"The Republic is passing through the pangs of a new birth, to a nobler and a higher life;" though not in the way which he supposes.

It is, probably, true, as stated by Mr. Cairnes,—"Once confine the operations of slavery to the tracts which it already occupies, and the ultimate extinction of the system becomes as certain as the ultimate surrender of the garrison of a beleaguered town which is absolutely cut off from relief."* But taking into consideration the immense extent of the present area of the Slave States, and the comparatively small extent which can be correctly said to be at present occupied at all, it is

* Cairnes, p. 233.

difficult to see how any compact to "confine the operations of slavery to the tracts which it already occupies," could be enforced, even if it can be supposed that such a compact would ever be entered into. It is difficult to suppose that such a compact would now be entered into by the South, and if entered into, it is still more difficult to suppose that it would be observed. It would, therefore, be questionable prudence to attempt mediation on any such terms, in the face of difficulties so insurmountable as these appear to be; and if the limits of Slavery are to be commensurate with the present area of the Slave States, little or nothing will be gained by such a limitation, for the extinction of Slavery. That object, if ever accomplished, must be by more definite and surer means.

But the surrender of this point of advantage to the South would not be any difficulty with the North. Liberty is a favorite subject for declamation, but in what measures, of practical utility for the suppression of slavery in the South, have the parties of the North ever shown themselves to be earnest and sincere advocates?

Even in the small district of Columbia, with the City of Washington, the metropolis of the Union, and the centre of Government, Slavery is still maintained, though, by the last census, the

number of slaves therein is but 3181. There Slavery yet remains to the disgrace of the whole Nation, and to fix upon the North, in addition to dishonor, the stamp of hypocrisy. In the little State of Delaware, which has long been hovering on the verge of freedom, and where there is no industry in which the employment of Slave labor offers any advantage, yet there Slavery is still maintained, though the number of slaves is but 1798. The two members for this little State in the Senate, are of equal power with the two members for the greatest State in the Union, and though the change would reverse their position, and have the effect of four votes on a division, yet Delaware still continues a Slave State.

But what is to be said for the North, on the question of Slavery, when Boston and New York, —the head-quarters of the Abolitionists, are also the head-quarters of the Slave-trade?

Lord Lyons stated, in September, 1860, that in the previous eighteen months, eighty-five vessels had sailed from American ports, to be employed in the Slave-trade.* Of ten vessels captured in one year by the American squadron, on the coast of Africa, seven were from New York. It is well known that although the slaves are taken to Cuba, the slave-trade is carried on in American

* Spence, p. 151.

vessels, with American capital, energy, and nautical skill. Could such a trade as this have been carried on in these principal ports, without the connivance, or indifference, or culpable neglect, of the Government ?

It has constantly been said in this country, that Slavery has nothing to do with the present struggle, and the supposed connivance or indifference of the North may seem to support this view. But not so, if Slavery be regarded, as in America it is regarded, as a means of power. That may be, and no doubt is, a wrong view, but, as influencing the actions of men, it is a correct view, that the present struggle is, on one side, for Slavery as a means of power ; and, on the other side, against Slavery, but only as a means of retaining the dominant power. President Lincoln, therefore, is right, when he says in his Message, quoting from his own Inaugural Address,—“ one section of our country believes that slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes that it is wrong, and ought not to be extended.”

Here the motive for the right and wrong is not suggested ; but it is clear enough from other parts of the Message that, the suppression of Slavery is not President Lincoln's motive, any more than it is President Davis's motive. It is also clear that, whatever may be the motive of these men,

and of the parties which they represent, the question of Slavery very much depends upon the result of the present struggle, and that the restoration of the Union would be the most fatal result which could happen for the Slaves; and the final separation of the Union, by force, and without the mediation of the greater Powers of Europe, would defer the abolition of slavery indefinitely, and, in all probability, would lead to the restoration of the African Slave Trade in all its former horrors. This is the view of the question to which the public mind in Great Britain is directed in these pages, and in this view it seems never to have been regarded. In this country the public mind is divided between the North and the South, and writers on either side are abundant enough in numbers and vehemence. The perplexity of the subject is shown in the diversity and change of opinion which has taken place since the commencement of the contest.

No wonder that a question so little understood should be subject to such diversity and change. At the commencement, no doubt, the preponderance of public feeling in this country was with the North, and there is little doubt, that now the preponderance is with the South.

But with reflecting and intelligent minds, or even with simple and impartial spectators,—what

is there to choose between two mad dogs tearing each other to pieces? True—it is dangerous to attempt to part them; but if that fear is to prevail, then it is better to be silent.

The North prefers free labor to slave labor, but detests and despises the slave more than slavery, and above all desires the Union for the sake of power.

The South prefers slave labor to free labor, and cherishes slavery as a sacred and holy institution, but detests and despises the slave, as an ever present memory of that lie, and above all desires Disunion for the sake of power.

Who shall say which of these two mad dogs is the maddest? Or, that they ought not to be separated? But how? That is the only useful question now.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

THIS is the most difficult chapter to be dealt with in the whole inquiry ; because all the evidence is on one side, and all is condemnatory of the guilty slave-owner. The shades of individual guilt are various, but this in no way relieves the blackness of the iniquity of the system of slavery. The shades of guilt are, indeed, various, but in the dark depth there is no ray of light. Of all the forms of evil with which this world is cursed, the most accursed form is slavery.

How to present this accursed form in all its hideousness, without injuring, perhaps defeating, the object in view, is the difficulty. How to present facts, and to repress execration, is the difficulty. How to show the enormity of the guilt, without further exasperating the guilty, is the difficulty. And, if it be asked, why attempt to show what is already so universally known ? the answer is,—that those who would support by the weight of their opinion, the Southern

Confederacy of Slaveholders may shrink from such participation in their guilt.

To review this enormous iniquity through all its courses, and to withhold execration upon the guilty advocates and abettors, is a difficulty which can be fully known only to those who have undergone the painful task of long and minute inquiry into the details of horror exposed in the records of slavery. To attempt anything of this kind here is not intended, and, indeed, is impossible. Such a history would be the longest and most horrible ever written, and would be unreadable, if written. Very short of that will be the attempt here made, and the object will be confined to showing that the nature of this evil is, to unhumanize those who participate in it.

They do not see the sin against humanity, because they are unhumanized. Even that sex which is called *the softer*,—being supposed to be less accessible to those passions which harden the nature of the other sex,—are alike affected when brought into long and close contact with this most appalling evil; and instances are not wanting to show that women as well as men are so far unhumanized by this evil influence, as to be brought down to the brutal ferocity of wild beasts, even as if the last spark of humanity were extinguished. If such be the effect on the highly

educated, accomplished, and wealthy of both sexes, what must be the effect on the uneducated, the ignorant, and the poor? What is it to the purpose, if all the victims of this brutalizing influence be not equal sufferers? Or, what is it to the purpose, if all the victims be not equally conscious of their suffering and degradation?

Who can measure their sufferings, or calculate their feelings?

Nothing of this sort will be attempted here. That slaves are contented and happy will not be attempted to be disproved. Those who believe in this falsehood must remain in their belief. The present object is only to show the brutalizing influence and effects of Slavery. Most persons know what it is, and what it must be. Many say that, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," as a picture of Slavery, is fanciful and exaggerated; but nobody who is well acquainted with recorded facts, resting on unquestionable and unquestioned evidence, was ever heard to say so.

Everybody, who knows anything about it, knows that all the leading events, relating to Slavery, in that tale of fiction, are taken from well authenticated facts, and are not exaggerated, but, on the contrary, fall short of the horrid reality. Innumerable instances, from unquestioned records, of atrocities exceeding anything in that

memorable tale, founded on facts, are now at the Writer's hand, if he were disposed to pollute these pages with details so disgustingly horrible. His object is not further to increase exasperation, but only to show the necessity, and the duty, of mediation. By this means there is hope of mitigation and gradual removal of the evil. Without this intervention there is no hope, but in the overwhelming ruin of retributive justice.

The present object of the reference to the general condition and treatment of Slaves is simply to show the necessary and inevitable effect of unhumanizing and demoralizing the slaveholders and all around them. For this purpose the work which will be chiefly referred to is, the two Volumes of Mr. Olmsted, containing an account, in the nature of a Journal, of his "Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom of America." This Work is selected because it is the most recent, and has the reputation of being most reliable, and because it is written by a native American, manifestly with great fairness. Also because he has lived amongst the Negro race in the freedom of the North, and in the bondage of the South; and because, as far as can be learnt from his books, his judgment is not carried away by any very great sympathy or partiality for the race in servitude or in freedom.

And lastly because he has written from his own personal observation, and has, amongst the most liberal and enlightened of his own Countrymen, a high reputation for truthfulness and impartiality.

His testimony comes down to the year 1851, and is a record of facts written by himself from day to day.

Mr. Olmsted gives numerous instances from his own observation, in support of his conclusion that, when the negro is definitively a slave, the natural antipathy of the white race to associate with him is lost.*

In this way he accounts for the more social intercourse which exists between the two races in the South, than in the North, and for the apparent antipathy being stronger in the North, than in the South.

In Virginia the greater part of the colored people, on Sunday, seemed to be dressed in the cast-off fine clothes of the white people, received as presents, or purchased of the Jews, whose shops show that there must be a considerable importation of such articles, probably from the North, as there is from England into Ireland. Some were dressed with foppish extravagance, and many in the latest style of fashion. In the

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 40.

fashionable streets, there were many more highly-dressed colored people than white ; and among this dark gentry the finest French cloths, embroidered waistcoats, patent-leather shoes, resplendent brooches, silk hats, kid gloves, and *eau de mille fleurs*, were quite common. Nor was the fairer, or rather the softer sex, at all left in the shade of this splendor. Many of the colored ladies were dressed not only expensively, but with good taste and effect, after the latest Parisian mode. Some of them were very attractive in appearance, and would have produced a decided sensation in an European drawing-room. Their walk and carriage were more often stylish than graceful. Nearly a fourth part seemed to have lost all African peculiarity of feature, and to have acquired, in place of it, a good deal of that voluptuousness of expression which characterizes many of the women of the South of Europe.

There was no indication of their belonging to a subject race, except that they invariably gave way to the white people they met. Once, when two of them, engaged in conversation and looking at each other, had not noticed his approach, I saw a Virginian Gentleman lift his walking-stick, and push a woman aside with it. In the evening I saw three rowdies, arm-in-arm, taking

the whole of the side-walk, hustle a black man off it, giving him a blow, as they passed, that sent him staggering into the middle of the street.*

Except in the single instance which he mentions, he says—"I have not seen the slightest evidence of any independent manliness on the part of the negroes towards the whites." And he adds—"As far as I have yet observed, they are treated very kindly and even generously as servants, but their manner to white people is invariably either sullen, jocosely, or fawning."

Among the people you see in the streets, full half are more or less of negro blood, and a very decent civil people they seem, in general, to be; more so than the laboring class of whites, among which there are many very ruffianly-looking fellows.†

For an account of the Slave Auctions in Virginia, Mr. Olmsted must be referred to in his 2nd Vol. Appendix B. There is no difference in the manner of conducting these sales than in sales of live cattle, except that before and during the sale, the male slave is stripped and examined, and the female is handled and examined by all present, as they please. That they are regarded as cattle, the evidence is abundant to prove. For

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 47.

† Olmsted, vol. i. p. 48.

this, the following may suffice. A Slave woman is commonly esteemed least for her working qualities, most for those qualities which give value to a brood-mare. Of this, Mr. Olmsted gives the following evidence: "A Slaveholder, writing to me, says:—'In the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, as much attention is paid to the breeding and growth of negroes as to that of horses and mules. Farther South, we raise them for use and for market. Planters command their girls and women (married or unmarried) to have children; and I have known a great many negro girls to be sold off, because they did not have children. A breeding woman is worth from one-sixth, to one-fourth more than one that does not breed.'"

By comparing the average decennial ratio of Slave increase in all the States with the difference in the number of the actual slave population of the Slave-breeding States, as ascertained by the Census, it is apparent that the number of slaves exported to the Cotton States, is considerably more than twenty thousand a year.*

Mr. Olmsted describes that, throughout all the numerous plantations which he visited in the South, the general complaint of the Planters was,

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 58.

“though their slaves were worked hard, they had too much liberty, and were acquiring bad habits. They earned money by overwork, and spent it for whisky, and got a habit of roaming about and *taking care of themselves*.” The Planters told him freely of the trouble annoyance and anxiety which their negroes occasioned them, and Mr. Olmsted remarks: “I suspect that the great trouble and anxiety of Southern Gentlemen is:—how, without quite destroying the capabilities of the negro for any work at all, to prevent him from learning to take care of himself.”*

Some of the Planters, to be rid of this trouble and anxiety, were selling their slaves, but many more were keeping them in the hope of a market rise of value. The probability that Lower California would be made a Slave State, had induced many to wait; and in a note, Mr. Olmsted adds; —“Mr. Wise is reported to have stated, in his electioneering tone, when Candidate for Governor, in 1855, that, if Slavery were permitted in California, negroes would sell for 5000 dollars apiece.”†

The ordinary prices, referred to by Mr. Olmsted, in the market of Virginia, were:—“Best men, 18 to 25 years old, 1200, to 1300 dollars. Young women, 800 to 1000 dollars.”

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 61.

† Olmsted, vol. i. p. 60.

Mr. Olmsted's evidence, and his facts in support of it, in regard to the state and condition of the "mean whites" or the poor white population, who will not work with slaves, and have nothing to bring to market but their labor, is in a very striking manner confirmatory of the curse of Slavery. He says that, "the poor white people are worse off, in almost all respects, than the slaves." These *mean whites* "are extremely ignorant and immoral, as well as indolent and unambitious. That their condition is not so unfortunate by any means as that of negroes, however, is most obvious, since from among them, men sometimes elevate themselves to positions and habits of usefulness, and respectability. They are said to "corrupt" the negroes, and to encourage them to steal, or to work for them at night and on Sundays, and to pay them with liquor, and also to constantly associate licentiously with them. They seem, nevertheless, more than any other portion of the community, to hate and despise the negroes."*

Of this class, under the denomination of "mean whites," it is estimated that there are, in the Southern States, no less than five millions of human beings, who are too proud to work with

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 83.

the blacks, and unable to find work for themselves, and who gain a wretched and precarious subsistence by hunting and fishing, also by letting themselves out on hire for occasional jobs, and by plunder. Thus, this large portion of the population is worse than lost to the country, being an inexhaustible preserve of idle, worthless, and lawless, ruffians.

Everywhere in the South Mr. Olmsted heard the planters complaining of these people for their idleness, for corrupting their slaves, and for their thievish propensities ; and, as Mr. Cairnes says ; “It is from their ranks that those filibustering expeditions are recruited which have been found so effective an instrument in extending the domain of the Slave Power.” Such are the “mean whites,” or “the white trash,” of the Southern States.

For the treatment of slaves, when the “*mean whites*” happen to become the masters, Mr. Olmsted’s pages must be referred to. These cases are too numerous and too terrible to be here given. The drawing out of the nails from the toes of run-away negroes, is one of the remedies not unfrequently resorted to by masters of this description, but the authority in his own case said, “he never had to do it more than twice—it always cured them.” Nor is this the worst sort of mu-

tilation inflicted by this class for alleged offences. The risk of loss to the slave owner seems to be the slaves' best protection against excessive punishment, but even this protection, such as it is, very often fails, and admits a fearful extent of safe cruelty. Still, this risk is a great protection, as appears by several examples given by Mr. Olmsted. As an instance he mentions a tobacco plantation which he went over with the planter. He had an Irish gang draining for him, by contract. He thought a negro could do twice as much work, in a day, as an Irishman. "I asked why he should employ Irishmen, in preference to doing the work with his own hands. 'It's dangerous work [unhealthy], and a negro's life is too valuable to be risked at it. If a negro dies, it's a considerable loss, you know.'" "He afterwards said that, his negroes never worked so hard as to tire themselves. He did not think they ever did half a day's work. They could not be made to work hard: they never would lay out their strength freely, and it was impossible to make them do it." "They keep their powers in reserve for their own use at night." "You can make a nigger work, but you cannot make him think." This was a wealthy Virginia Planter, and he had been at College.*

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 89.

Mr. Olmsted mentions another plantation which he visited in Virginia, cultivated entirely by free labor. The proprietor told him that he was first led to disuse slave labor, not from any economical consideration, but because he had become convinced that there was an essential wrong in holding men in forced servitude with any other purpose than to benefit them alone, and because he was not willing to allow his own children to be educated as slave masters. His father had been a large slaveholder, and he felt very strongly the bad influence it had had on his own character. He said that Jefferson uttered a great truth when he asserted that slavery was more pernicious to the white race than to the black. Although, therefore, a chief part of his inheritance had been in slaves, he had liberated them all. Most of them had, by his advice, gone to Africa. These he had frequently heard from. At his last account, they were all alive, in general good health and satisfactorily prospering. With regard to those going north, and the common opinion that they encountered much misery, and would be much better off here, he said that it entirely depended on the general character and habits of the individual: it was true of those who were badly brought up, and who had acquired indolent and vicious habits, especially if they were

drunkards ; but if of some intelligence and well trained, they generally represented themselves to be successful and contented. Mr. Olmsted prudently withholds the name of this enlightened Planter, and gives no clue to his plantation. He admitted that the owners were mainly men of some cultivation, and felt a family attachment to their slaves, many of whom had been the play-mates of their boyhood. Nevertheless, they were frequently punished severely, under the influence of temporary passion, often without deliberation, and on unfounded suspicion. This was especially the case when they were left to overseers, who, though sometimes men of intelligence and piety, were more often coarse, brutal, and licentious ; drinking men, wholly unfitted for the responsibility imposed on them. With regard to the value of slave labor, he was confident that, at present, he had the advantage of employing free labor. He had, heretofore, had some difficulty in obtaining hands when he needed them, and had suffered a good deal from the demoralizing influence of adjacent slave labor, the men, after a few months' residence, inclining to follow the customs of the slaves with regard to the amount of work they should do in a day, or their careless mode of working. He has had white and black Virginians, sometimes Germans, and latterly

Irish. Of all these, he has found the Irish on the whole, the best. The poorest have been the native white Virginians ; next, the free blacks. The free black, he thinks, is generally worse than the slave, and so is the poor white man. He does not apprehend that in future he shall have any difficulty in obtaining steady men, who will accomplish much more work than any slaves. On the whole, he is satisfied that, at present, free labor is more profitable than slave labor, though his success is not so evident that he would be willing to have attention particularly called to it.*

A well informed capitalist and slaveholder remarked, that negroes could not be employed in Cotton factories. Mr. Olmsted said—"they were so in Charleston, and some other places in the South." The reply was,—“It may be so—but they will have to give it up.” The reason was, he said, that the negro could never be trained to exercise judgment, he cannot be made to use his mind ; he always depends on machinery doing its own work, and cannot be made to watch it. He neglects it until something is broken, or there is great waste. “We have tried rewards and punishment, but it makes no difference. It’s his nature and you cannot change it. All men are indolent

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 96.

and have a great disinclination to labor, but this is a great deal stronger in the African race than in any other. In working niggers, we must always calculate that they will not labor at all, except to avoid punishment, and they will never do more than just enough to save themselves from being punished, and no amount of punishment will prevent their working carelessly and indifferently. It always seems on the plantation as if they took pains to break all the tools and spoil all the cattle that they possibly can, even when they know they'll be directly punished for it."*

This opinion is contradicted in innumerable instances by free blacks in the North, and by free blacks and slaves in the South. But that slaves should be indifferent to their masters' interests is natural, and that this indifference cannot be overcome is probable. That rewards, however, have some effect, is consistent with nature, and is confirmed by ample experience.

Mr. Olmsted was told by tobacco manufacturers in Virginia that the negroes "could not be *driven* to do a fair day's work so easily as they could be stimulated to it by the offer of a *bonus* for all they would manufacture above a certain number of pounds."†

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 100.

† Olmsted's "Journey in the Sea-board Slave States," p. 127.

Mr. Olmsted, writing from Louisiana, says: "Men of sense have discovered that when they desire to get extraordinary exertions from their slaves, it is better to offer them rewards than to whip them: to encourage them rather than to drive them." "The same mode of treatment has also a beneficial influence upon the morality of the slave. Where the masters are most considerate and liberal towards their slaves, there the slaves show themselves worthy of trust most."*

Mr. Olmsted was assured by respectable authorities that, the cases of planters not providing sufficient food for their slaves "was very rare. If a man does not provide well for his slaves, it soon becomes known; he gets the name of a 'nigger killer,' and loses the respect of the community."

That "Slaves are liars," is proverbial. The rejection of their evidence on all occasions is not like to improve them in this respect. Mr. Olmsted is told that "the agrarian notion has become a fixed point of the negro system of ethics." Mr. Jefferson, perhaps, gave a good answer to this, when he said of the Slaves: "Whether further observation will, or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the

* Olmsted's "Journey in the Sea-board Slave States," pp. 108, 447, 660-9.

endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she will have done them justice. That disposition to theft, with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man in whose favor no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favor of others.”*

Mr. Olmsted has often asked:—“Why do you not employ white men?”

The answer is:—“Our poor white men will not do such work, if they can help it, and they will do no more of it than they are obliged to. They will do a few days’ work when to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, but they are not used to steady labor; they work reluctantly, and will not bear driving: they cannot be worked to advantage with slaves, and it is inconvenient to look after them, if you work them separately.”

And then he adds, when he pushes the inquiries, by asking, why not send North, and get some of our laborers? “Well—the truth is,—I have been used to drive niggers, but I don’t think I could drive white men. I should not know how to manage them.”†

In those parts of the counties, in which there

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 106.

† Olmsted, vol. i. p. 113.

are no large towns, and a free laboring population, with slaves in ratio to the freemen, as one to fifteen only, the value of land is over seven dollars and three-quarters an acre. But in other parts equally removed from large towns, where the slave population is as 1 to 2·2, the value of land is but little more than half as much—dollars 4.50 an acre. In those parts where the number of slaves, as to whites, is as 1 to 1·9, the value of land is but 6 dollars an acre, though the most productive soil in the State.

The difficulty of distinguishing between real and feigned illness is one of the many difficulties with which the Planter is beset. Mr. Olmsted mentions the instance of a Planter who admitted that he had learnt a lesson in this way. He had a nigger who was sulky and complaining, and said he couldn't work. "I looked at his tongue, and thought it was nothing but damned sulkiness, so I paddled him and made him go to work; but two days after, he was under ground. He was a good eight hundred dollar nigger, and it was a lesson to me about taming possums, that I ain't going to forget in a hurry."

Their trouble with women, in this way, is greater. "The women on a plantation," said one extensive Virginian slave-owner to me, "will hardly earn their salt, after they come to the

breeding age." He then gives particulars which could not be here repeated, and concludes : " You have to take her word for it that something or other is the matter with her, and you dare not set her to work ; and so she lay up, till she feels like taking the air again, and plays the lady at your expense."*

At another plantation a woman had been excused from any sort of labor for more than two years, on the supposition that she was dying of phthisis. At last the overseer discovered that she was employed as a milliner and dressmaker by all the other colored ladies of the vicinity. She was hired out the next year to a fashionable dressmaker in town, at handsome wages ; and as, after that, she did not " raise blood," it was supposed that when she had done so before, it had been by artificial means.

" Running away," is another serious difficulty. It is said often to occur when no motive for it can be guessed at ; when the slave has been well treated, well fed, and not over-worked ; and when he will be sure to suffer hardship and severe punishment on his return, or if caught. This is said to illustrate the ingratitude and depravity of the African race. But it may also be said to illustrate the natural instinct of freedom in a man.

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 121.

Mr. Olmsted refers to the learned Dr. Cartwright, of the University of Louisiana, who believes that slaves are subject to a peculiar form of mental disease, termed by him, *Drapetomania*, which, like a malady that Cats are liable to, manifests itself by an irrestrainable propensity to *run away*; and in a work on the diseases of negroes, highly esteemed in the South for its patriotism and erudition, he advises planters of the proper preventive and curative measures to be taken for it.

Mr. Olmsted must be referred to for the marvellous extracts which he gives from this notable work of the learned Dr. Cartwright; and it must suffice here to say that, his principal remedy for negroes, afflicted with *drapetomania*, is, what is vulgarly called, "*whipping the devil out of them.*"*

With respect to the comparative value of Slave and Free labor, the authority given by Mr. Olmsted is worthy of all attention. He refers to Mr. T. R. Griscom, of Petersburg, Virginia, formerly of New Jersey, who has had the superintendence of very large agricultural operations, conducted with slave labor, and his evidence, already given, goes to prove that four slaves are required to do the work of one free man.

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 122.

Mr. Olmsted adds—"Mr. Griscom is well known at Petersburg as a man remarkable for accuracy and preciseness; and no man's judgment on this subject could be entitled to more respect."

Another man, who had superintended labor of the same character at the North and in Virginia, agreed entirely with Mr. Griscom, believing that four negroes had to be supported on every farm in the State to accomplish the same work which was ordinarily done by one free laborer in New York.

This Evidence is confirmed by much more of the same kind, referred to by Mr. Olmsted.

The following as the result of all Mr. Olmsted's observations in the Slave States of the South, is very expressive.

"It does not seem to me that men who are reputed to be worth 400,000 dollars have equal advantages of wealth here, with those whose property is valued at a quarter that, in the Eastern Free States; men with 40,000 dollars live not as well here, all things considered, as men with 10,000 dollars in the North; and the farmer who owns half a dozen negroes, and must be called worth 4,000 dollars, does not approach in his possession of civilized comfort, the well-to-do working man with us, who rents a small house,

and whose property consists in its furniture, his tools, skill, and strength, and who has a few hundred dollars laid up in the Savings Bank against a rainy day.”*

“As a rule, the farm-labor of a slave accomplishes not half as much in a day, as that at the North; that of a white man, probably, not a third; that of most mechanics, because of their carelessness and unfaithfulness, much less than most at the North, although they are paid more than there.”†

The “Great Dismal Swamp,” made so well known by Mrs. Beecher Stowe, together with the smaller “Dismals,” of the same character, along the North Carolina Coast, are described by Mr. Olmsted to be “of considerable commercial importance as furnishing a large amount of lumber, and especially of shingles for Northern use, as well as for exportation. The district from which this commerce proceeds is all a vast quagmire, the soil being entirely composed of decayed vegetable fibre, saturated and surcharged with water; yielding or *quaking* on the surface to the tread of man, and a large part of it, during most of the year, half inundated with standing pools. It is divided by creeks and water-veins, and in the

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 137.

† Olmsted, vol. i. p. 139.

centre is a pond six miles long, and three broad, the shores of which, strange to say, are at a higher elevation above the sea than any other part of the swamp, and yet are of the same miry consistency. The Great Dismal is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide; its area about 200,000 acres. The Little Dismal, Alligator, Catfish, Green, and other smaller swamps, on the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico, contain over 2,000,000 acres.”*

The swamp, which belongs to a great many proprietors, contains a good deal of game—bears and wild cats are sometimes shot, racoons and opossums are plentiful, and deer are found in the drier parts and on the outskirts. The fishing, in the interior waters, is also said to be excellent. This swamp is scarcely passable in many parts, owing not only to the softness of the sponge, but to the obstruction caused by the innumerable shrubs, vines, creepers, and briars, forming a dense brake or jungle. As such it forms a safe shelter to any runaway negroes, who prefer this dismal locality, to the scenes of their daily labor servitude and suffering.

Such a preference seems to furnish some ground for distrusting the reports on the favorable condition of the slaves within reach of this

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 144.

refuge; nor is this distrust diminished by such Advertisements as the following, given by Mr. Olmsted, as taken from the West Tennessee Democrat, and which, he says, frequently appear in the newspapers of the South-Western States. "BLOOD HOUNDS.—I have TWO of the FINEST DOGS for CATCHING NEGROES in the south-west. They can take the trail TWELVE HOURS after the NEGRO HAS PASSED, and catch him with ease. I live just four miles south-west of Boliver on the road leading from Boliver to Whitesville. I am ready at all times to catch runaway negroes—March 2, 1853."* "DAVID TURNER."

Mr. Olmsted describes several establishments which he visited in South Carolina and Georgia, where all the machinery, driven by steam-engines, was superintended and directed by slaves. The proprietor called his attention to the excellence of the workmanship, and said that they exercised as much ingenuity and skill as the ordinary mechanics that he was used to employ in New England.

He describes "task work," wherever practised, as acting well. Under this "Organization of Labor," most of the slaves work rapidly and well.

"In nearly all ordinary work, custom has set-

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 159.

tled the extent of the task, and it is difficult to increase it. The driver, who marks it out, has to remain on the ground until it is finished, and has no interest in over-measuring it; and if it should be systematically increased very much, there is danger of a general stampede to the 'swamp'—a danger the slave can always hold before his master's cupidity. In fact, it is looked upon *in this region* as a prescriptive right of the negroes to have this incitement to diligence offered them; and the man who denied it, or who attempted to lessen it, would suffer in his reputation, as well as experience much annoyance from the obstinate 'rascality' of his negroes. Notwithstanding this, I have heard a man assert, boastingly, that he made his negroes habitually perform double the customary task."*

With regard to the intellectual and moral nature of the African race, Mr. Olmsted says:—"I do not think that there is any good reason to consider the negro, naturally and essentially, the moral inferior of the white; or, that if he be so, it is in those elements of character which should for ever prevent us from trusting him with equal social munities with ourselves."

And he adds that, so far as his experience went, slaves show themselves worthy of trust

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 248.

most, where their masters are most considerate and liberal towards them.

He mentions many instances where negroes, even in slavery, "prove wonderfully reliable."

Evidence is abundant to show that the negro is not only ready to work under proper encouragement, and fully able to take care of himself, but also that he is by no means deficient in mental powers. Throughout the South Mr. Olmsted saw slaves who had great aptitude in mastering various mechanical trades, and in secretly learning to read and write.

One Mississippi planter told Mr. Olmsted that negroes, when they had the opportunity, learned *quicker* than white men; another testified that they were naturally ingenious, "more so than white folks;" and another, of larger experience, said, "he knew hosts of negroes who showed extraordinary talents, considering their opportunities: there were a great many in this part of the country who could read and write, and calculate mentally, as well as the general run of white men who had been to schools."

In South Carolina a rice planter "pointed out some carpenter's work, a part of which had been executed by a New England mechanic and a part by one of his own hands, which indicated that the latter was much the better workman." Many

other similar cases are mentioned by Mr. Olmsted in his various "Journeys."

With regard to their intellectual capacities, considering the means taken to prevent their development, all the evidence establishes their equality with the whites. The following common form of Advertisement is something to this point.

[From the New Orleans Picayune.]

"FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, about two months ago, a bright Mulatto girl, named Mary, about twenty-five years of age, almost white, and reddish hair, front teeth out, a cut on her upper lip; about five feet five inches high; has a scar on her forehead; she passes for free; talks French, Italian, Dutch, English, and Spanish."

"ANDRE GRASSO."

"Upper side of St. Mary's Market."

The following remarks of Mr. Olmsted are worthy of all attention, and prove him to be a shrewd and just observer.

"As commerce, or any high form of industry requires intelligence in its laborers, slaves can never be brought together in dense communities, but their intelligence will increase to a degree dangerous to those who enjoy the benefit of their labor. The slave must be kept dependent, day

by day, upon his master for daily bread, or he will find and declare his independence in all respects. This condition disqualifies the slave for any but the simplest and rudest forms of labor; and every attempt to bring his labor into competition with free labor can only be successful at the hazard of insurrection."

It is wonderful that men, accustomed to the close calculation necessary to successful enterprises, can continue to maintain a system which requires such defences.

The free black population of the States is often referred to as evidence of the natural inability of the African to raise himself in society; but the low position of the negro is sufficiently accounted for by the opposition of the white people to his advancement, without looking for any essential inferiority. Persecuted and despised as they are, they will still bear comparison with the same class of the white population. Of the free negroes of New York, Mr. Olmsted says that, among the thousands of applicants for charity during "the famine," he did not see one free negro, and this was accounted for by the fact that the African was more provident, and always managed to keep himself more decent and comfortable than the poor whites.*

Mr. Stirling was agreeably surprised with the

* Journey in the Sea-board Slave States, p. 704.

intelligence and prosperity of the Northern free colored people, and found many with whom he conversed to be men of superior minds and some education.*

The almost universal depravity which prevails throughout the South, and especially at New Orleans, from this system, is very forcibly described by Mr. Olmsted, but for these descriptions his Volumes must be referred to.

The system of slavery is essentially a system of licentiousness, which is carried into every home where slavery enters.

The creole and quadroon women are generally beautiful—often to an eminent degree, and highly accomplished. Their beauty and accomplishments constitute their chief value, and make them the choicest stock in trade of their brutal owners.

With legal and universally recognized command over the persons of these women, how can their fate be other than it is?

Mr. Olmsted mentions Mrs. Douglas,—a Virginian woman, tried convicted and punished a year or two since, for teaching a number of slaves to read, contrary to law,—who says in a letter from her jail: “This subject demands the attention, not only of the religious population, but of statesmen and law-makers. It is one great evil

* Letters from the Slave States, p. 53.

hanging over the Slave States, destroying domestic happiness and the peace of thousands. . . . Neither is it to be found only in the lower order of the white population. It pervades the entire society. Its followers are to be found among all ranks, occupations, and professions. The white mothers and daughters have suffered under it for years—have seen their dearest affections trampled upon—their hopes of domestic happiness destroyed, and their future lives embittered, even to agony, by those who should be all in all to them, as husbands, sons, and brothers. I cannot use too strong language in reference to this subject, for I know that it will meet with a heartfelt response from every Southern woman.”*

Mr. Olmsted mentions the case of a negress, hanged this year in Alabama, for the murder of her child. “At her trial she confessed her guilt. She said her owner was the father of the child, and that her mistress knew it, and treated it so cruelly in consequence, that she had killed it to save it from further suffering, and also to remove a provocation to her own ill-treatment.”

He mentions a large Planter who told him, as a reason for sending his boys to the North to be educated, that there was no possibility of their being brought up in decency at home.

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 308.

Another Planter told him that he was about to remove to a free country on this account. He said that the practice was not occasional or general—it was universal. “There is not,” he said, “a likely looking black girl in this State that is not the concubine of a white man. There is not an old plantation in which the grandchildren of the owner are not whipped in the field by the overseer. I cannot bear that the blood of the —— should run in the veins of slaves.” He was of an old Scotch family.*

Mr. Olmsted remarks: “There are very many wealthy Creole Planters, who are as cultivated and intelligent as the better class of American Planters, and usually more refined. . The Creoles did not work their slaves as hard as the Americans; but, on the other hand, they did not feed or clothe them nearly as well, and he had noticed universally, on the Creole plantations, a large number of ‘used-up hands’—slaves, sore and crippled, or invalided from some cause. On all sugar plantations they work the negroes excessively, in the grinding season; often cruelly.

“The work of most of them, too, was very hard. Under the usual system, to keep the fires burning, and the works constantly supplied, eighteen hours’ work was required of every negro, in

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 308.

twenty-four, leaving but six hours for rest. On the Creole plantations, even in the grinding season, they did not often get meat." *

Working negroes on Sundays is very common in Louisiana, although there is a law of the State against it.

Mr. Olmsted asked an intelligent man who had been travelling during the last two years in Louisiana, having business with the Planters, if he thought, among the intelligent class of farmers and planters, people of equal property lived more happily in New York or Louisiana. "He replied immediately, as if he had carefully considered the topic, that, with some rare exceptions, farmers worth forty thousand dollars lived in far greater comfort, and enjoyed more refined and elegant leisure, than planters worth three hundred thousand ; and that farmers of the ordinary class, who labored with their own hands, and were worth some six thousand dollars, in the Genesee Valley lived in far greater comfort, and in all respects more enviably, than planters worth forty thousand dollars in Louisiana. The contrast was especially favorable to the New York farmer, in respect to books and newspapers. He might travel several days, and call on a hundred planters, and hardly see in their houses more than a single

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 47.

newspaper apiece—perhaps, none at all: nor any books, except a Bible, and some government publications that had been franked to them through the Post-Office, and perhaps a few religious tracts or school-books.” *

Mr. Olmsted, in his journey through the interior Cotton Districts, and in the highlands of Alabama met with many smaller slave-owners who appeared to be duly sensible of the evils of slavery.

His conversation with one of these is so characteristic that it is given here in his own words:—

“What are your objections to slavery, Sir?”

“Objections! The first’s here” (striking his breast); “I never could bring to myself to like it. Well, Sir, I know Slavery is wrong, and God’ll put an end to it. It’s bound to come to an end, and when the end does come, there’ll be woe in the land. And, instead of preparing for it, and trying to make it as light as possible, we are doing nothing but make it worse and worse. That’s the way it appears to me, and I’d rather get out of these parts before it comes. Then I’ve another objection to it. I don’t like to have slaves about me. Now, I tell a nigger to go and feed your horse; I never know if he’s done it unless I go and see; and if he didn’t know I would go and see, and would whip him if I found he hadn’t fed

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 48.

him, would he feed him? He'd let him starve. I've got as good niggers as anybody, but I never can depend on them; they will lie, and they will steal, and take advantage of me in every way they dare. Of course they will, if they are slaves. But lying and stealing are not the worst of it. I've got a family of children, and I don't like to have such degraded beings round my house while they are growing up. I know what the consequences are to children, of growing up among slaves."

Mr. Olmsted asked him if he could safely utter such sentiments among the people of this district. "I've been told a hundred times I should be killed if I were not more prudent in expressing my opinions, but, when it comes to killing, I'm as good as the next man, and they know it. I never am afraid to speak what I think to anybody. I don't think I ever shall be "

"Are there many persons here who have as bad an opinion of Slavery as you have?"

"I reckon you never saw a conscientious man who had been brought up among slaves who did not think of it pretty much as I do."

"Yes, I think I have, a good many."

"Ah, self interest warps men's minds wonderfully, but I don't believe there are many who don't think so, sometimes—it's impossible, I know, that they don't."

He was asked—Were there any others in this

neighborhood who avowedly hated slavery? He replied that, there were a good many mechanics, all the mechanics he knew, who felt slavery to be a great curse to them, and who wanted to see it brought to an end in some way.

He considered a coercive government of the negroes by the whites, forcing them to labor systematically, and restraining them from a reckless destruction of life and property, at present to be necessary. He did not think it wrong to hold slaves, and the profits of their labor were not more than enough to pay a man for looking after them. What was wrong was, making slavery so much worse than was necessary. Negroes would improve very rapidly, if they were allowed, in any considerable measure, the ordinary incitements to improvement. He knew hosts of negroes who showed extraordinary talents, considering their opportunities. There were a great many in this part of the country who could read and write, and calculate mentally as well as the general run of white men who had been to schools.

As a general rule, the condition of slaves on the large plantations, was much the worst, from the excessive labor required of them. This could be obtained only by the use of the lash. Slaves never really felt under any moral obligation to obey their masters.*

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 101.

In his journey through Northern Alabama, Mr. Olmsted stopped at a large house, having an unusual number of negro cabins and stables about it, the property of a hearty old farmer.

The farmer told him about "nigger dogs;" they didn't use foxhounds, but bloodhounds—not pure, he thought, but a cross of the Spanish bloodhound, with the common hound. There were many men, he said, in the country below here, who made a business of nigger-hunting, and they had their horses trained, as well as the dogs, to go over any common fence, or if they couldn't leap it, to break it down. The dogs were trained for the purpose, and were always taught to hate a negro, never being permitted to see one, except to be put in chase of him. He had seen a pack of thirteen which would follow a trail two days and a half old, if rain had not fallen in the meantime.

When hard pushed, a negro always took to a tree; sometimes, however, they would catch him in an open field. When this was the case the hunters called off the dogs as soon as they could, —unless the negro fought— "that generally makes 'em mad, and they'll let 'em tear him a spell. The owners don't mind having them kind o' niggers tore a good deal; runaways ain't much account nohow, and it makes the rest more

afraid to run away, when they see how they are sarved."

If they caught the runaway within two or three days, they got from 10 to 20 dollars; if it took a longer time, they were paid more than that; sometimes 200 dollars.*

Proceeding on his journey, Mr. Olmsted fell in with a Methodist Preacher, and, amongst other things, asked him:—

"Are dogs allowed to tear the negroes when they catch them?"

"When the hunters come up they always call them off, unless the nigger fights. If the nigger fights 'em that makes 'em mad, and they let 'em tear him good;" said the clergyman.

At another farmhouse in the highlands, where he stopped the night, the farmer spoke of slavery as a shocking curse to the country, and of slaves as "horrid things."

"I see you have 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' here—have you read it?"

"Oh, yes."

"And what do you think of it?"

"Think of it? I think well of it."

"Do most of the people, here in the mountains, think as you do about slavery?"

"Well, there's some thinks one way and some another, but there's hardly any one here that don't

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 120.

think slavery's a curse to our country, and who wouldn't be glad to get rid of it."

"Some say—the slaves are contented."

"That's a great lie. They are not content, and nine-tenths of 'em would do 'most anything to be free. It's only now and then that slaves, who are treated unusual kind, and made a great deal of, will choose to remain in slavery if freedom is put in their way."*

Proceeding on his way in the Valley of the Lower Mississippi, in the neighborhood of Natches, Mr. Olmsted put up at the house of the Overseer of a first-rate plantation. On the highest ground stood a large and handsome mansion, but it had not been occupied for several years, and it was more than two years since the overseer had seen the owner.

He lived several hundred miles away—was a rich and honorable man—and had several times been at New York.

The whole plantation, including the swamp-land around it, and owned with it, covered several square miles. There were between thirteen and fourteen hundred acres under cultivation with cotton, corn, and other hoed crops, and two hundred hogs running at large in the swamp. It was the intention that corn and pork enough should be raised to keep the slaves and cattle.

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 136.

This year, however, it had been necessary to purchase largely. The overseer intimated that the owner had been displeased, and he "did not mean to be caught so bad again."

There were 135 slaves, big and little, of which 67 went to field regularly—equal, the overseer thought, to fully 60 prime hands. Besides these, there were 3 mechanics, 2 seamstresses, 1 cook, 1 stable servant, 1 cattle-tender, 1 hog-tender, 1 teamster, 1 house servant (overseer's cook), and one midwife and nurse. These were all first-class hands.

There was also a driver of the hoe-gang, who did not labor personally, and a foreman of the plough-gang. These two acted as petty officers in the field, and alternately in the quarters.

There was a nursery for sucklings at the quarters, and twenty women at this time who left their work four times each day, for half an hour, to nurse their young ones. These women, the overseer counted as half-hands—that is, expected to do half the day's work of a prime field-hand in ordinary condition.

He had just sold a bad runaway, to go to Texas. He was whipping the fellow, when he turned and tried to stab him—then broke from him, and ran away. He had caught him almost immediately with the dogs. He had dogs trained

on purpose to run after niggers, and never let out for anything else.

“ We found in the field thirty ploughs, moving together, turning the earth from the Cotton plants, and from thirty to forty hoers, the latter mainly women, with a black driver walking about among them with a whip, which he often cracked at them, sometimes allowing the lash to fall lightly upon their shoulders. He was constantly urging them also with his voice. All worked very steadily, and though the presence of a stranger on the plantation must have been a most unusual occurrence, I saw none raise or turn their heads to look at me.”

“ I asked at what time they began to work in the morning.” “ Well,” said the overseer, “ I do better by my niggers than most. I keep ’em right smart at their work while they do work, but I generally knock ’em off at eight o’clock in the morning, Saturdays, and give ’em all the rest of the day to themselves, and I always gives ’em Sundays, the whole day. Pickin’ time, and when the crop’s bad in grass, I sometimes keep ’em to it till about sunset, Saturdays, but I never work ’em Sundays.”

“ How early do you start them out in the morning, usually ?”

“ Well, I don’t never start my niggers ’fore

daylight, 'less 'tis in pickin' time, then maybe I get 'em out a quarter of an hour before. But I keep 'em right smart to work through the day."

Particulars of management are then given in detail, and may be taken as a fair specimen of management on a large plantation.*

In a hilly part of Alabama, Mr. Olmsted happened to have a tradesman of the vicinity for a travelling companion. He pointed out a rugged range of hills as a favourite lurking ground for runaway negroes. He had seen folks who had come here to look after niggers from plantations two hundred miles to the southward. "I suppose 'twould seem kind o' barbarous to you to see a pack of hounds after a human being?"

"Yes, it would."

"Some fellows take as much delight in it as in runnin' a fox. Always seemed to me a kind o' barbarous sport. It's necessary, though."

"I suppose it is. Slavery is a custom of society which has come to us from a barbarous people, and barbarous practices have to be employed to maintain it."

"Yes—I s'pose that's so. But niggers is generally pretty well treated, considering. Some people work their niggers too hard, that's a fact. I know a man at ——; he's a merchant there,

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 179.

and I have had dealings with him ; he's got three plantations, and he puts the hardest overseers he can get on them. He's all the time a buyin' niggers, and they say around, he works 'em to death. On these small plantations niggers ain't very often whipped bad ; but on them big plantations, they've got to use 'em hard to keep any sort of control over 'em. The overseers have to always go about armed ; their life wouldn't be safe if they didn't. As 'tis, they often get cut pretty bad." (Cutting is knifing, or stabbing.)

This man,—a native of Alabama,—went on to describe some large plantations which he had visited for business purposes, where "the people looked as if they were being worked to death." "These rich men are always bidding for the overseer who will make the most cotton ; and a great many of the overseers didn't care for anything but to be able to say they've made so many bales in a year. If they make plenty of cotton, the owners never ask how many niggers they kill."

On the suggestion that, this did not seem quite credible, as a negro was a valuable piece of property—he answered "Seems they don't think so. They are always bragging how many bales their overseer has made. They never think of anything else. You see, if a man did like to have his niggers taken care of, he couldn't bear to be always

hearing that all the plantations round had beat his. He'd think the fault was in his overseer. The fellow who can make the most Cotton always gets paid the best."

At another plantation, Mr. Olmsted saw the negroes at work before sunrise and after sunset. The ploughs at work, both with single and double mule teams, were generally held by women, and very well held, too. Twenty of them were ploughing together, with double teams and heavy ploughs. They were superintended by a negro man who carried a whip, which he frequently cracked at them, permitting no dawdling or delay at the turning. Throughout the south-west the negroes, as a rule, appear to be worked much harder than in the Eastern and Northern Slave States. They do not accomplish as much in the same time as agricultural laborers at the North usually do, but they certainly labor much harder, and more unremittingly. They are constantly and steadily driven up to their work, and the stupid, plodding, machine-like manner in which they labor, is painful to witness. This was especially the case with the hoe-gangs. One of them numbered nearly two hundred hands, moving across the field in parallel lines, with a considerable degree of precision. I repeatedly rode through the lines at a canter, with other horse-

men, often coming upon them suddenly, without producing the smallest change or interruption in the dogged action of the laborers, or causing one of them, so far as I could see, to lift an eye from the ground. Mr. Olmsted adds:—

“I had noticed the same thing with smaller numbers before, but here, considering that I was a stranger, and that strangers could but very rarely visit the plantation, it amazed me very much. I think it told a more painful story than any I had ever heard, of the cruelty of slavery. It was emphasized by a tall and powerful negro who walked to-and-fro in the rear of the line, frequently cracking his whip, and calling out in the surliest manner, to one and another, ‘Shove your hoe there! shove your hoe!’ The whip was evidently in constant use. I said to one of the overseers,—‘It must be disagreeable to have to punish them as much as you do?’ ‘Yes,—it would be to those who are not used to it—but it’s my business, and I think nothing of it. Why, Sir, I wouldn’t mind killing a nigger more than I would a dog.’ I asked if he had ever killed a negro? ‘Not quite that—but overseers were often obliged to.’ He said,—some negroes are determined never to let a white man whip them, and will resist you when you attempt it;—‘of course you must kill them in that case.’ ”

Mr. Olmsted witnessed on this estate the punishment of a female slave, and painful as it is to transfer such an account to these pages, yet as a specimen of one of the liabilities of the system, this account will be given, in its material parts, in Mr. Olmsted's own words.—The overseer, who was showing him over the plantation, suddenly stopped his horse at the bottom of a thick covert of brushwood, exclaiming—“‘What’s that? Hallo! who are you, there?’”

“‘It was a girl lying at full length on the ground, evidently intending to hide herself from us in the bushes.

“‘Who are you, there?’

“‘Sam’s Sall, sir.’

“‘What are you skulking there for?’

“‘The girl half rose, but gave no answer.

“‘Have you been here all day?’

“‘No, sir.’

“‘How did you get here?’”

“‘The girl made no reply.

“‘After some further questioning, the Overseer was silent for a moment, looking at the girl, and then said—

“‘That won’t do; come out here.’”

“‘The girl arose at once and walked towards him. She was about eighteen years of age.

“‘Whether her story were true or false, could

have been ascertained in two minutes by riding on to the gang with which her father was at work, but the overseer had made up his mind.

“ ‘That won't do ;’ said he, ‘get down.’ ”

“The girl knelt on the ground ; he got off his horse, and holding it with his left hand, struck her thirty or forty blows across the shoulders with his tough, flexible, ‘raw hide’ whip (a terrible instrument for the purpose). They were well laid on, at arm's length, but with no appearance of angry excitement on the part of the overseer. At every stroke the girl winced and exclaimed, ‘Yes, sir!’ or ‘Oh, sir!’ or ‘Please, sir!’ not groaning or screaming. At length he stopped and said,—‘Now tell me the truth.’ The girl repeated the same story. ‘You have not got enough yet,’ said he ;—‘pull up your clothes—lie down.’ The girl without any hesitation, without a word or look of remonstrance or entreaty, drew closely all her garments under her shoulders, and lay down upon the ground with her face towards the overseer, who continued to flog her with the raw hide, across her naked loins and thighs, with as much strength as before. She now shrank away from him, not rising, but writhing, grovelling, and screaming, ‘Oh, don't, sir ! Oh, please stop, master ! please, sir ! please, sir ! Oh, that's enough, master ! Oh,

Lord! Oh, master! master! Oh, God! Master, do stop! Oh, God, master! Oh, God! master!

“A young gentleman of fifteen was with us; he had ridden in front, and now, turning on his horse, looked back with an expression only of impatience at the delay. I had seen a man cud-gelled and beaten, in the heat of passion, before, but never flogged with a hundredth part of the severity used in this case. I glanced again at the perfectly passionless but rather grim business-like face of the overseer, and again at the young gentleman, who had turned away; if not indifferent he had evidently not the faintest sympathy with my emotion. Only my horse chafed. I gave him rein and spur, and we plunged into the bushes, and scrambled fiercely up the steep acclivity. The screaming yells and the whip-strokes had ceased when I reached the top of the bank. Choking, sobbing, spasmodic groans only were heard. I rode on, my young companion met me, and immediately afterwards the overseer. He laughed as he joined us, and said:— ‘She meant to cheat me out of a day’s work, and she has done it, too.’

“ ‘Did you succeed in getting another story from her?’ I asked, as soon as I could trust myself to speak.

“ ‘No;—she stuck to it.’

“ ‘ Was it not, perhaps, true ?’

“ ‘ Oh no, sir ; she slipped out of the gang when they were going to work, and she’s been dodging about all day, going from one place to another as she saw me coming.’

“ ‘ Was it necessary to punish her so severely ?’

“ ‘ Oh, yes, sir’ (laughing again). ‘ If I hadn’t, she would have done the same thing again to-morrow, and half the people on the plantation would have followed her example.’

“ We soon afterwards met an old man, who, on being closely questioned, said that he had seen the girl leave the gang as they went to work after dinner. It appeared that she had been at work during the forenoon, but at dinner-time the gang was moved, and then she slipped out.”*

After this, it must be unnecessary to add anything more on the treatment of Slaves.

The views of the advantages of slavery, taken by the advocates of the system, are various, and some of these are remarkable. As a specimen, the following are given by Mr. Olmsted, in Notes.†

From an “ Address on Climatology,” before the Academy of Science, by Dr. Barton, of New Orleans :—

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 207.

† p. 277.

“The institution of slavery operates by contrast and comparison; it elevates the tone of the superior, adds to its refinement, allows more time to cultivate the mind, exalts the standard in morals, manners, and intellectual endowments; operates as a safety-valve for the evil disposed, leaving the upper race purer, while it really preserves from degradation, in the scale of civilization, the inferior, which we see is their uniform destiny when left to themselves. The slaves constitute essentially the lowest class, and society is immeasurably benefited by having this class, which constitutes the offensive fungus—the great cancer of civilized life—a vast burden and expense to every community, under surveillance and control; and not only so, but under direction as an efficient agent to promote the general welfare, and increase the wealth of the community. The history of the world furnishes no institution under similar management, where so much good actually results to the governors and the governed as this in the Southern States of North America.”

“It is by the existence of slavery, exempting so large a portion of our citizens from labor, that we have leisure for intellectual pursuits.”—*Governor Hammond in S. Lit. Mess.*

“Would you do a benefit to the horse or the ox, by giving him a cultivated understanding,

or fine feelings? So far as the *mere laborer* has the pride, the knowledge, or the aspirations of a free man, he is unfitted for his situation, and must doubly feel its infelicity. If there are sordid, servile, and laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid, servile, and laborious beings to perform them?"—*Chancellor Harper's Address to South Carolina Institute.*

Can any one, born and bred out of reach of the evil, doubt that this Chancellor Harper has been unhumanized by it, and, quite unconsciously to himself, has become brutalized?

All the laws of the South, relating to Slavery, are to prevent the negro from thinking by himself, of himself, for himself; and the principle on which those laws are based is thus defined by Mr. De Bow:—

“The Almighty has thought well to place certain of His creatures in certain *fixed positions* in this world of ours, for what cause He has not seen fit to make quite clear to our limited capacities; and why an ass is not a man, and a man is not an ass, will probably for ever remain a mystery. God made the world: God gave thee thy place, my hirsute brother, and, according to all earthly possibilities and probabilities, it is thy destiny there to remain, bray as thou wilt. From

the same great power have our sable friends, Messrs. Sambo, Cuffe, and Co., received their position also. . . . Alas, my poor black brother ! thou, like thy hirsute friend, must do thy braying in vain.”*

This creature, called De Bow, is referred to by Mr. Olmsted, as holding an honorable position, and looked up to as a high authority, in the South.

In the face of such evidence as here given, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that, the South, as a nation, has sunk into a very low state of degradation ; and that Slavery has been the cause.

Mr. Olmsted thus sums up the ruling characteristics of the Southern people :—“ Every wish of the Southerner is, for the moment at least, more imperative than that of the Northerner, every belief more undoubted, every hate more vengeful, every love more fiery. Hence, for instance, the scandalous fiend-like street-fights of the South. If a young man feel offended at another, he does not incline to a ring and a fair stand-up set-to like a young Englishman ; he will not attempt to overcome his opponent by logic ; he will not be content to vituperate, or to cast ridicule upon him ;

* “Resources,” vol. ii. p. 197, 198 ; quoted by Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 345.

he is impelled straightway to kill him with the readiest deadly weapon at hand, and with as little ceremony and pretence of fair combat as the loose organization of the people against violence will allow. He seems crazy for blood. Intensity of personal pride—pride in anything a man has, or which connects itself with him, is more commonly evident; hence intense partizanship; hence rashness and over-confidence; hence visionary ambition; hence assurance and violence in debate; hence assurance in society; no matter how ignorant, how out-of-place, self-assurance seldom fails, partizan assurance never.”*

Such must be the effects of Slavery on Society, where all the worst passions of human nature, unchecked, find full development; where all principles of humanity and decency are outraged by the flogging of men and women; and where libertinism and other villainies are uncontrolled even by moral influence.

To maintain this system in safety, “you come,” Mr. Olmsted says, “to police machinery such as you never find in towns under free government; citadels, sentries, passports, grape-shotted cannon, and daily public whippings for accidental infractions of police ceremonies. I happened myself to see more direct expression of tyranny in a single

* *Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 118, 119.

day and night at Charleston, than at Naples [under Bomba] in a week ; and I found that more than half the inhabitants of this town were subject to arrest, imprisonment, and barbarous punishment, if found in the streets without a passport after the evening 'gun-fire.' Similar precautions and similar customs may be discovered in every large town in the South. Nor is it much better in the rural districts. Ordinarily there is no show of government any more than at the North : the slaves go about with as much apparent freedom as convicts in a dockyard. There is, however, nearly everywhere, always prepared to act, if not always in service, an armed force, with a military organization, which is invested with more arbitrary and cruel power than any police in Europe."*

At such price the South pays for slavery.

Mr. Olmsted observes—"There is no part of the South in which the people are more free from the direct action of slavery upon the character, or where they have less to apprehend from rebellion, than Eastern Tennessee. Yet, after the burning of a negro near Knoxville, a few years ago, the deed was justified, as necessary for the maintenance of order among the slaves, by the Editor of a newspaper (the *Register*), in the following

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 351.

terms:—‘It was a means of absolute, necessary, self-defence, which could not be secured by an ordinary resort to the laws.’ . . .

“The other local paper (the *Whig*,) upon the same occasion, used the following language:—‘We have to say in defence of the act, that it was not perpetrated by an excited multitude, but by one thousand citizens—good citizens at that—who were cool, calm, and deliberate.’

“And the Editor, who is a Methodist preacher, presently adds, after explaining the enormity of the offence with which the victim was charged—‘We unhesitatingly affirm that the punishment was unequal to the crime. Had we been there we should have taken a part, and even suggested the pinching of pieces out of him with red-hot pincers—the cutting off of a limb at a time, and then burning them all in a heap. The possibility of his escaping from jail forbids the idea of awaiting the tardy movements of the law.’”
 [Although one thousand trusty citizens volunteered to guard him at the stake!*

When a people can make such apologies for such acts, they must have been unhumanized, and have become brutalized.

The following are some extracts from the Laws of some of the Southern States, referred to by

* Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 352.

Mr. Cairnes.* These may be taken as samples of the legislation of the States of the South generally in regard to the mental improvement of Slaves, and, it must be admitted that, if the system is to be maintained, this is not unwise legislation.

In South Carolina an Act was passed in 1834 which provides as follows:—"If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid in assisting any slave to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall for every such offence against this Act be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a free person of color shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars; and if a slave shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes; and if any free person of color, or a slave, shall keep any such school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such person shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment as are by this Act imposed and inflicted on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to read or write."

In Virginia, according to the code of 1849,

* Cairnes, p. 105, note.

“Every assemblage of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing shall be an unlawful assembly. Any Justice may issue his warrant to any officer or other person, requiring him to enter any place where such assemblage may be, and seize any negro therein; and he may, or any other Justice may, order such negro to be punished with stripes.” “If a white person assemble with negroes for the purpose of instructing them to read or write, he shall be confined to jail not exceeding six months, and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.”

In Georgia, in 1829, it was enacted:—“If any slave, negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, negro, or free person of color, to read or write either written or printed characters, the said person of color shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping at the discretion of the Court; and if a white person so offending, he, she, or they, shall be punished with fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisonment in the common jail, at the discretion of the Court.”

By the Act of Assembly of Louisiana, passed in March, 1830,—“All persons who shall teach or cause to be taught any slave in this State to read or write shall, on conviction thereof etc. be imprisoned not less than one or more than twelve months.”

In Alabama, “any person who shall attempt to teach any free person of color or slave to spell, read, or write, shall upon conviction etc., be fined in a sum not less than 250 dollars, nor more than 500 dollars.”

Thus, as Mr. Cairnes says—“the merest rudiments of learning are now rigorously proscribed for the negroes in the Slave States of North America; and the prohibition is enforced, both in the persons of the teachers and the taught, with penalties of extraordinary severity.” “Laws and manners have conspired to interpose obstacles all but insuperable in the way of manumission; and thus the modern slave is cut off from the one great alleviation of his lot—the hope of freedom.”

CHAPTER XV.

THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.

THIS is a very important part of the whole question ; and, on the judicious management of this part, the whole may, very probably, depend.

Mr. President Lincoln, in his Message, says : —“ There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide.”

This is literally true, but is nothing to the purpose. The same might have been said on the division of the separate States of the Union ; and yet no difficulty has ever been raised on this ground. The boundaries of each State are sufficiently defined for all practical purposes. There can be no difficulty in altering these boundaries, with the consent of the States, for their common good, in better securing the independence and prosperity of the whole. Besides, the question of boundary will be of much less consequence to the States than it ever has been, with the condition annexed, that no duty on Exports or Im-

ports is to exist between any of the States, or Canada; and that all the Rivers, Lakes, and Harbors, are to be free.

On this basis of sound policy, in which lies the secret for the strength and prosperity of each and all, the Boundary Question becomes of no more real importance to the States, than the question of the boundary of a county. It is convenient that the boundary should be fixed somewhere, within certain limits, but of much less importance where. No doubt, each State will struggle for extended territory, and each Union will struggle for extended sovereignty, but with the conditions prefixed of Free Trade, and Free Navigation of all Rivers, Lakes and Harbors, any such struggle will be for little more than the shadow, the substance being already disposed of. When it comes to a division of territories into two parts, leaving each part of nearly equal dimensions with Europe, it seems like idle chaffering to be disputing about a few hundred miles more or less to the North or to the South. The real difficulty in this part of the question is removed by the two precedent conditions—Free Trade, and Free Navigation.

The Northern Union would like to draw the line of the Southern Union to the West of the Mississippi, but when there are two parties to a

contract, with equal rights and powers, the line nearest the middle is generally the safest and best.

It would, undoubtedly, be convenient to make the Metropolitan City of Washington more central, by drawing the boundary-line, between the North and the South, as was fixed by the Missouri Compromise, for the limit of slavery to the North, at $36^{\circ} 30''$ latitude north. It would appear reasonable and just if this were taken as the Boundary Line between the two Unions, and by extending this line across to the Pacific, ample compensation would be given to the South, for such encroachment by the North. This would give the whole of Virginia and Kentucky, and part of Missouri, to the North, and would be no disparagement to the real interests of the South, but, on the contrary, would give to the Southern Union a vast increase of territory.

But these are details, to be settled by the Commissioners, and cannot be usefully considered here, the present object being only to invite the parties to agree on the parallel of latitude where the line shall be drawn across ; and, at the same time, to fix on a more equitable boundary line, than that fixed by the Ashburton Treaty, between the Northern States and Canada. In this latter part of the question, the Southern

States will have no immediate interest, beyond the fact of a final settlement, satisfactory to all parties. In this view, to purchase the willing concurrence of Canada, it would be no sacrifice if the present "crooked line" between the Northern States and Canada, on the Eastern side, were made straight, and so to unite Canada with New Brunswick, by drawing the boundary line on the parallel line 45° latitude north, to 75° longitude west.

The effect of this would be to annex to Canada the northern portion of the State of Maine, and the north-eastern corner of New Hampshire, thereby making a boundary line more convenient to Canada, without the smallest detriment to the interests of the Northern Union, but, on the contrary, to their manifest benefit, by bringing Canada in closer proximity with Boston and New York for all commercial purposes.

Thus would be formed, on the northern part of the Continent of America, three separate and independent Unions, all bound together by one common interest, and with no outstanding question or grievance, and no open ground for jealousy, to lead to any disruption. The old grievance, settled but not wiped out by the Ashburton treaty, would then be remembered no more. The independence of Canada might then be safely

conceded by Great Britain, and Canada might be safely left to settle her own form of government, and to manage her own affairs.

The Oregon Boundary Question, which, for the sake of peace, Great Britain consented to settle by the sacrifice of her manifest rights, even to the abandonment of the British possessions on the Columbia River, might then be put right, and settled for ever.

It is impossible to believe that any honest doubt existed on the part of the American Government with regard to the British rights on the Oregon Boundary question; and President Polk, in his Inaugural Address, in 1845, when asserting the claim of the United States to the disputed Oregon territory up to a given latitude, showed the grossest ignorance, even in geography.

This question was ultimately settled on no principle of right, or even common sense, but on the simple consideration that it was not worth, to Great Britain, the cost of a war with the United States.

It may, therefore, now very properly be made part of the terms of the mediation of Great Britain for the adjustment of American difficulties, that the rights so surrendered by Great Britain should be restored to her.

The Maine boundary was entirely another ques-

tion, and was settled by the Ashburton treaty, which fixed the North-Eastern boundary of the United States with Great Britain, leaving the North-Western boundary still unsettled.

The settlement of the North-Eastern boundary question might have been wise, as a matter of policy, but was contrary to the clearest evidence. When peace terminated the revolutionary war, that peace was negotiated by Franklin. When the treaty was made by Lord Ashburton, the Government of the United States was in possession of the Map sent by Franklin to the French Ministry, and deposited in their archives. This map is authenticated by a note in his own handwriting; and on this map is a strong red-ink line drawn by Franklin's own hand, and referred to in his note. The Government was also possessed of a Map found in Jefferson's collection, in which a similar red line delineated the true boundary. Franklin's map was discovered by Mr. Jared Sparks, who, when forwarding it to the United States Government, wrote thus:—"The line is bold and distinct in every part, made with red ink. There is no other coloring on any part of the map. Imagine my surprise on discovering that this line was wholly south of the St. John's. It is exactly the line contended for by Great Britain, except that it concedes more than is

claimed." All this evidence was produced before the Senate—Jefferson's map, as well as Franklin's—"the two," as Mr. Rives observed, "coinciding minutely and exactly."* But this conclusive evidence, though in the hands of the United States Government, was suppressed in the Senate, and the Government, backed up by the people, thought it clever to cajole the British negociator, and thus Canada was severed from New Brunswick.

According to the American version, England was in possession of the original Map of the British Commissioner in 1783, with a note upon it, said to be in the hand-writing of George III., giving the American, and not the British line.

Be this as it may, such inferential negative evidence must be very inferior to the direct affirmative evidence under the hands of Franklin and Jefferson ; and, as has been suggested, there may have been an exchange of maps at the negotiations of 1783, each party being put in possession of, and retaining the map showing his adversary's claim.

However this may have been, we have now to deal with an accomplished fact, and if it were then worth the while of Great Britain to buy off a war with the United States at this cost, it may

* Spence, p. 297.

now be worth the while of the United States to buy off their civil war, by surrendering, what they have so unjustly acquired, and a little more ; and the present may be a favorable opportunity for settling all other questions, still unsettled, on the Eastern and the Western side.

To make Canada an independent State, and capable of maintaining its own independence would be as much for the interests of the Northern States of America, as of Great Britain. For this purpose, a convenient and well defined boundary line, between Canada and the Northern States, would be of the greatest importance, and would go farther to unite these two nations in one common bond of mutual interests, than could possibly be obtained, even by the annexation of the whole of Canada to the Northern States. But this supposes the bond drawn up in the terms proposed, for securing Free Trade in articles of every description, and free access to all Rivers, Lakes, and Harbors. In this mutual interchange of natural advantages, all would be obtained which could be acquired by annexation ; and the mutual rights being clearly defined and acknowledged, this peaceful interchange would form a Union too strong to be severed by ambition or jealousies, for which there would be no longer any conceivable object.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, the gain would be unqualified good ; and all other nations of the world would be equally interested. To Great Britain, the possession of Canada has ceased to be an object, and, as a dependent, is only an incumbrance. But as an independent State, carrying out the principle of Free Trade with all the world, Canada would then become to Great Britain a most important and most cherished Ally, and the Northern Continent of America, governed by three independent sovereign States, bound together by the close bond of their mutual interests, would form the most powerful Union in the world, and would at once rank amongst its foremost Powers.

Such is the view presented, and all to be accomplished by these simple means. And what is to prevent the accomplishment, under the wise and temperate mediation of England and France? With the Mississippi, a free outlet for the products of the Western States in the South, and the St. Lawrence, a free outlet in the North, it is not easy to see the ground of objection on the part of the Western States. The St. Lawrence is now the outlet of the greater part of that region, and the increasing population in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and around the border of the lakes, renders this more prominent

every year. Yet the possession of that river by a foreign Power has neither checked the progress of those States, nor disturbed their peace. We see in Europe the separate Powers in the peaceable enjoyment of the Rhine, with its outlet in Holland, and of the Danube with its mouth in the possession of Turkey. To assume that Americans are unable to live in harmony under the same conditions as the people of Europe, would be a reflection upon the national character without sufficient ground, and to refuse to make the attempt on any such ground would be ridiculous.

The severance of the artificial union between the North and the South, which has long ceased to be a union of interests, will leave both free to form a natural union on the firm basis of mutual interests, when the independent sovereignty of each is settled and acknowledged.

For a time the commerce of the South may be diminished, but in a few years, with a free trade, and all the rivers and lakes and harbors of the North open to free navigation, the commerce of the South will have attained to a prosperity which under the old Union could never have been experienced, and all the natural advantages of soil and climate of the South will be sources of wealth to the North, which will bind the North and the South together in a Union more lasting than

human power and contrivance alone could ever have effected.

Into this Union and share of profits Canada would be admitted, and each would stand on its own firm basis of independent sovereignty. The North American States would represent a power which must command the respect of all nations, and would be an example,—as regards Free Trade,—which must be followed by all the civilized nations of the world.

The total magnitude of the territory of the Northern Union would be nearly three millions of square miles, and nearly three thousand miles across; or more than four times as large as that of four of the five great European Powers; more than twelve times as large as France, and more than eighteen times as large as eight kingdoms of Europe joined together.

This should seem to be enough to satisfy any reasonable appetite for space, and desire for power. Nor would the total magnitude of the Southern territory be much, if at all, less; and, certainly not inferior in soil or climate, with the Valley of the Mississippi alone capable of supplying all the granaries of the world with corn.

For the accomplishment of this grand object, the Nations of Europe are now called to come forward to invite the two parties to stay their

work of mutual destruction, and to accept the proposed mediation ;—to induce them by mutual and timely concessions to commence a new æra on a new basis ;—to open new and far greater prospects of prosperity and power to the States of North America, than were foreseen even by those long-sighted and noble-hearted men when they signed their Declaration of Independence.

Thus will due homage be rendered to the characters of those great men, and thus will their noble views be realized ; and out of past evils will spring the future good.

This is the American Question, and this is the solution.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSION.

FROM the foregoing review of facts the following seem to be just conclusions :

1. That the origin of the present crisis in the American Union is Slavery.

2. That it is safer to attempt the removal of this evil by gradual means, than suddenly by an act of Emancipation.

3. That the Union between the North and the South is dissolved for ever, and that it is not for the interest of either that the Union should be restored.

4. That it is for the best interests of the North and the South that they should form separate and independent Unions, to be governed by their own laws respectively, and to be united only by their common interests.

5. That their common interests should be secured, and made perpetual, as far as possible, by a treaty on the terms proposed.

6. That the tendency of these terms is, to secure the co-operation and support of all other Nations.

7. That a treaty on these terms can be carried out only through the mediation of the British and French Governments.

Such a treaty would be strengthened and confirmed by an amalgamation of the interests of Canada with those of the Northern and Southern Unions.

Thus would be established in North America three independent Nations, closely connected with each other geographically and commercially, and bound to each other, as well as to all the Nations of Europe, by the strongest bonds of mutual interests.

The gain of independence to Canada would be no loss to Great Britain, but, on the contrary, a great gain in every way as a secured open market, and a self-supporting Sovereign State.

On the part of Canada, all the tendencies towards the Mother-Country would be not only preserved, but most materially strengthened,—inasmuch as such a concession would remove all jealousies and other drawbacks to this natural alliance. Canada will look to Great Britain as a natural ally, and each will look to the other as her best customer. Strengthened in position,

Canada will be the best protector of the North against any future encroachments of the South, and, in the course of time all antagonism between North and South may be merged in mutual interests.

The time for the independence of Canada cannot be distant, and if the time be a little shortened, it may be better for both parties. As Turgot said, in 1750, "Colonies are like ripe fruits, which adhere to the tree only until they are ripe. The instant they suffice to themselves, they do what Carthage did, what America *will* one day do."

The thirteen Colonies of North America contained at that time, about 1,200,000 souls. The population doubled every twenty years, and the whole power of Great Britain was unable to subdue them.

The Canadians have already exercised their independence in fiscal regulations with little regard to British interests, and therein with little knowledge of their own. Great Britain, so far as regards her commercial interests with Canada, can hardly be in a worse position than at present; and both will be in a much better position by the change on the terms proposed.

It may, therefore, be hoped that Canada will be induced to take this view, and readily to concur in this arrangement.

With regard to the North and South, in their views of their respective interests, the people of the South are opposed to those of the North in a more violent antagonism than exists between any two Nations of Europe.

It is a struggle for power between the North and the South, but, apart from the question of Slavery, the South threatens nothing against the North, seeks nothing from it, and desires to disturb nothing in it. The loss of the dominant power to the North would be simply the loss of office. But power in the North would be aggressive, and most seriously injurious to the South, as already shown in the Morrill tariff.

Mr. Oliphant remarks :—“ Power in the hands of the South affects the patronage of a political party in the North ; but power in the hands of the North affects the happiness of almost every individual in the South. The stakes are not equal. The North are playing for the triumph of a party; the South for all they hold dearest to them.” To estimate the strength of feeling in the South, we must consider what are the Southern views, and how these are attacked.

By the proposed division of territory, the North and the South will be nearly equal in extent, and equal sovereignty will be secured to each Union.

The curse of Slavery will be confined to the

South, and will gradually expire, till it becomes extinct in 37 years.

This will allow sufficient time to the South to prepare for the change with safety, and in the meantime will mitigate the horrors of this hideous evil. Our West India Colonies will be a safe and ample asylum for all emancipated negroes, as free laborers, at fair wages, and they will be a source of wealth to the Colonists, greater than has ever been known or dreamed of. Our West India Islands will become the great Cotton Markets of the World. As Mr. Olmsted has said:—"Bring Cotton down to three cents a pound, and there would be more abolitionists in South Carolina than in Massachusetts." *

The South, when it ceases to grow Cotton, will cease to hold Slaves; and this will happen before the expiration of the 37 years. The South will then cultivate more Corn, on lands now exhausted by forced labor and lying idle, and the idle and worthless "mean whites," will then form the wealth and the strength of the restored country; and then will come the real union between the North and the South.

For this all that men have to do is, to make their laws in conformity with the providential laws, which are always working for them, whether

* Olmsted, vol. i. p. 201.

they like it or not, and which they never can repeal.

What else have the Nations to do? And what else can they do without involving themselves in greater troubles? But if they think to accomplish this by looking on and doing nothing, they will find themselves mistaken.

The offer of mediation is no departure from neutrality, nor does the offer, whether accepted or refused, necessarily lead to any interruption of friendly feeling to either party. Neither party can deny that the present state of affairs is extremely injurious to neutral nations, and justifies them in the attempt to put an end to it by every lawful means, and if all friendly attempts by mediation be rejected, it cannot be expected that neutral nations should much longer submit to such injuries without adopting, at least, measures of passive resistance, which would inevitably, sooner or later, create hostile feelings in one or both of the contending parties, which would, most probably, lead to acts of open hostility on their part, and thus the neutrality would be endangered, or broken up.

But if the North declined the offer of mediation, it is extremely unlikely that the offer, on these terms, would be rejected by the South; and if the acceptance by the South secured to

thè Southern Union the recognition of its Independence by Great Britain and France, the blockade of the Southern Ports could be no longer continued—at least, could be no longer continued against these two European Powers—and, therefore, must be abandoned by the North.

To suppose that the North could prolong the contest under this altered state of affairs, is much more difficult than to suppose that the North, however reluctant, would be forced to accept the mediation on these terms.

If the North and the South both rejected the offer, then the European Powers would be in no worse position than before, and would be more fully justified in resorting to such measures of passive resistance, against both the contending parties, as were best calculated to bring them to a more temperate and judicious view of the Question.

Thus, in every point of view, on the ground of justice, humanity, and policy, the proposal of mediation is presented with irresistible force; and thus an example would be set to all Nations, of the existence of a moral power in the affairs of this world, as far exceeding physical force as sunlight to the feeble rays reflected from the moon.

We see nothing to prevent the present war from lasting, as civil wars have always lasted, for

a long series of years, unless, indeed, a financial collapse should bring it to a sudden termination, and that is more likely to happen to the North, than to the South. But in that event on either side, what is to be hoped for to either side? In either case, the chains of Slavery are riveted for an indefinite period. The South prevailing, dictates its own terms. The North prevailing, can continue to hold only by conciliation. Either way, the unrepresented and little-cared-for Slave has no chance. For his redemption, the only hope is through mediation.

The Declaration of Independence—a still standing evidence against the South,—says: “ We hold these truths to be self-evident ;—that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it.”

There is no other escape from this conclusion than to deny the negro to be a man, and this is denied by many Southern physiologists and planters.

On this question, the original draft of the Declaration, as prepared by Jefferson, was still more explicit. One of the grievances it alleged against the King was, that he had "waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into Slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. . . . Determined to keep open a market where man should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he obtruded them,—thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the liberties of another."*

It is well remarked by Mr. Ludlow that, "Men who freely quote and strain Jefferson's authority in favor of States' rights, should in fairness allow it its due weight on the subject of Slavery."

* Ludlow, 'History of the United States,' p. 17.

It is stated, and on Jefferson's own authority, in Bancroft's History, VII. 299, that the clause above quoted, was omitted in deference to the feelings of some of the delegates from the slaveholding States; though this is denied by Elliott, in his 'New England History,' vol. II. p. 195.

It is astonishing to hear it asserted that Slavery had nothing to do with this war, when every document from the Secessionist States alleged this as the ground for taking up arms, in order to separate themselves from the rest of the Union.

The first State that separated was South Carolina. When they seceded they published to the world a formal declaration of the ground of their secession, and the other States, which followed, seceded expressly on the same grounds.

The first part of the South Carolina declaration consists of an argument showing the legality of secession; and the latter part states the grounds on which they thought proper to exercise that right. These were that a geographical line had been drawn across the Union, and that all the States north of that line had united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purpose were hostile to Slavery. It was not that President Lincoln had been elected contrary to forms of law, or that there had been any violation of the Constitution, but that he held opinions hostile to

slavery. In another part of this declaration they complained that the Northern States had assumed a right to decide upon the propriety of their domestic institution, and had virtually denied the right of property established in 15 States and recognized by the Constitution; that they had denounced as sinful the institution of slavery, and had further aggravated the wrong and injury by investing a great political question with the sanction of an erroneous religious belief.

After this it is astonishing to hear it asserted that the Southern States did not secede on the question of slavery. They have themselves declared that it was on account of slavery and nothing else.

The fact was that, out of the four gentlemen who were nominated to the office of President, three held opinions favourable to Slavery extension, and to the policy of the Fugitive Slave Law; but Mr. Lincoln was distinguished from the rest by holding that Congress had a right to prohibit the extension of slavery into new States, and was opposed to the policy of the Fugitive Slave Law.

These were the opinions on which Mr. Lincoln was elected President, and on these opinions, it is believed, there is a much nearer approach to unanimity among the British People than on any other question which was ever agitated.

The South seceded in the belief that Slavery

would not be safe under Mr. Lincoln's executive, and that the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave Law was not likely to be permitted, that Law then being, in fact, a dead letter.

If Mr. Breckenridge,—one of the Candidates,—had been elected, there would have been no secession, as he was the Candidate of the South, in favor of the extension of slavery, and the Fugitive Slave Law.

On this ground, and this only, Secession took place, and the consequent war was for the purpose of perpetuating and extending the cherished institution of Slavery. With astounding fierceness, and marvellous unanimity, the people of the South have declared their determination to stand by and maintain their cherished institution. Even the bishops of the Episcopal Church of the Confederate States have declared in favor of slavery;—they have declared that negro slavery is a system on which they are to plant their national life, and they have denounced all attempts to abolish it as hateful, infamous, and infidel!

The clergy and laity of Great Britain,—the whole British People,—on the contrary, declare in favor of abolition, and denounce Slavery as hateful, infamous, and infidel.

This is the issue now on trial, and it is well that the British People should so understand it.

On the question of the policy of neutral nations there may be difference of opinion, but on the question of Slavery there is no difference among Englishmen.

To interfere between two infuriated parties is proverbially dangerous, but there is no interference in the offer of mediation.

The Americans are a proud People, brave and boastful, and to wait until one party asks for mediation is neither noble nor generous, nor is it friendly; but it is mean; and, for Englishmen, savors too much of cowardice. It looks too much like waiting until the contending parties are both too much weakened to be any longer feared.

This is very unlike British policy, and, to say the least of it, is of very doubtful prudence.

That the crack in the American Constitution, by Slavery, has been widened by American tariffs, cannot be denied; but to attribute the separation to the last Protection Tariff, is to betray an ignorance of the circumstances under which that nefarious measure was carried through. The fatal crisis in American affairs had already arrived, and the iron-masters of repudiating Pennsylvania took that indecent opportunity to pass the Morrill tariff for their own advantage, in the absence of the representatives from the South, and had they been present that outrage against the Constitu-

tion could never have been committed. It is more correct to say that the crack, long before made, had ended in severance, than to say, the crack had been widened by this further blow, which only drove the broken parts further apart.

The Pennsylvania Protectionists took their opportunity, as they had done on other occasions and had their own way. Let them have it, but do not help them to turn it to their own advantage, in their own way. Their ways have not been pleasant ways, and if ever advantageous, will not be in the way which they have expected. To make them advantageous to themselves and others, is to make their last mean act a perpetual barrier to reunion, but by the honorable bonds of mutual interests. This may be effected by the means proposed, but never by any other.

It is singular that the American People who have pretended to found their Government on the principle of liberty, and have so highly vaunted this principle in their famous Declaration of Independence, should have fallen so short in carrying it out in their Constitution and Laws and fiscal regulations. Their whole history, as an independent nation, is practically the most complete denial of this theory to be found on the records of any nation.

Instead of making liberty their basis, they

made Slavery their basis, and to this day most of the Southern States declare Slavery to be the only sound basis; and the Northern States, instead of adopting liberty as the fundamental principle of the "Wealth of Nations," declare the very opposite to be the only sound principle.

What Adam Smith contended for was, that men under no pretext should be allowed to encroach upon the industrial liberty of other men. His fundamental principle is perfect liberty. The "Wealth of Nations" is an exhaustive argument for free labor and free trade, and a demonstration of the economical policy of justice and equal laws.

That true philosopher said: "The property which every man has in his own labor, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper without injury to his neighbor, is a plain violation of this most sacred property. It is a manifest encroachment upon the just liberty both of the workman, and of those who might be disposed to employ him. As it hinders the one from working at what he thinks proper, so it hinders the others from employing

whom they think proper. To judge whether he is fit to be employed, may surely be trusted to the discretion of the employers whose interest it so much concerns. The affected anxiety of the law-giver, lest they should employ an improper person, is evidently as impertinent as it is oppressive.”*

These remarks were directed against the law of Apprenticeship. If applicable to the apprentice, how much more so to the slave? How does the South answer for its cherished institution of Slavery? And the North for its Morrill Tariff?

The one robs the laborer of his patrimony, and robs of their lawful profits those who would hire him in the market; thereby fraudulently abstracting from the general wealth of nations, in quantity and quality that which depends upon the degree of industrial liberty secured to every individual throughout the world.

The other seeks to restrict industrial liberty by prohibiting exchange, and thus to abolish property to the many for the benefit of the few.

Thus both give a certain degree of truth to the paradox;—“*La propriété c'est le vol.*” The first is a literal truth in every sense; the last is economically true in its effect.

The Slave-owner extinguishes wages, profit,

* Adam Smith, vol. i. book i. p. 188, 9th edition.

and rent ; for the laborer receives no wages, but is fed and flogged like a beast of burden ; there is no profit, because the labor is not hired, but stolen ; there is no rent, because in the vast expanse of waste land only the best soils can be cultivated, and these are constantly becoming exhausted and worthless instead of increasing in value. There is no stimulus to the laborer's exertion, because fear is substituted for the hope of bettering his condition, and torment for reward. Wealth exists only in its rudest and grossest forms, because there is no natural division of employments, and only the rudest instruments of production can be used.

The free working population are reduced to the lowest state of poverty and degradation, because there is no demand for their labor. In close contact with slavery, its contagious influence has spread amongst them, and brutalized them even below the level of the slave. The "mean whites" are looked down upon with scarcely less contempt than the "enslaved blacks," but with infinitely greater fear, because they are the more desperate ruffians.

So much for the slave-ridden South.

In the North we see Commerce, under every natural advantage, languishing in its struggle for existence against artificial impediments, raised up

by the North itself in defiance of all economic truths : besieged from the South by a monster evil which both have helped to create : crippled in its own resources by its own acts : deserted, if not despised, by all nations : seeking sympathy from that nation which is itself a Nation of Slaves, and is ever struggling to enslave others : and rejecting the sympathy of its own mother-country with disdain and insult.

Such is the North, with its Morrill tariff, but without gold and without credit.

It is said that we owed to slavery the produce which supplied our principal manufacture. But if so, the whole of this production was to be credited to our free industry, while all the waste and ruin which accompanied it must be ascribed to slavery. The growth of so much cotton was through the commerce and invention of liberty, while the barbarism of "the poor whites," the brutifying of the negro population, and the exhaustion of the American soil are the net results of slavery. "To Watt, Hargreaves, Crompton, and Whitney—free citizens of England and the Northern States—the Southern planters owed the whole value of their cotton. What slavery may really claim as its own work is that, by exhausting the soil it occupies by a barbarous agriculture which sets the laws of chemistry as well as of

political economy at defiance, it hastens its own extinction from the day that its area is once definitely and narrowly circumscribed.”*

The same able writer truly and forcibly remarks: “The slaveholder, as he moves southward or westward, not only carries moral and material destruction with him, but leaves it behind for those who come after him. The rich slave-breeder follows him with his abominable trade, and the poor white sinks back into barbarism in the wilderness the slaveholder has made. The order of European progress has been reversed. In Europe, justice, liberty, industry, and opulence grow together as Adam Smith described.”

In the Slave States of America, as Mr. Cairnes has shown, the Slave Power constitutes “the most formidable antagonist to civilized progress which has appeared for many centuries, representing a system of society at once retrograde and aggressive—a system which, containing within it no germ from which improvement can spring, gravitates inevitably towards barbarism, while it is impelled by exigencies inherent in its position and circumstances to a constant extension of its territorial domain.”

* Macmillan, for February, 1863. Article, “The Wealth of Nations and the Slave Power,” p. 275.

Any sympathy which has been expressed in England for the South was not for the Slaveholder, but for the sufferers under the cruelties inflicted by General Butler, the absolute master at New Orleans. The generous sympathy given in England is to the cause of independence, and therefore of liberty. The power of England is in a great measure a moral power, founded on the respect of the civilized world for the sense of justice with independence in the English People.

The English people abhor slavery because it is cruel and unjust, but they would not abolish slavery by cruelty and injustice to the slaveholder.

In policy, as well as in justice, England must refuse her countenance to that Power which maintains Slavery as its chief corner stone, and must regard that Power as the enemy of the liberty as well as of the wealth of nations.

But England has too long countenanced Slavery to pursue now the course which many advocate. It would be neither a consistent nor a wise policy to require or expect the immediate abandonment of a system so long pursued by the South and countenanced, if not supported, by England.

If a reasonable period of time be fixed for the extinction of the evil, and in the meantime the

evil be mitigated, all will have been done which justice can require, or policy expect. To look for more, under existing circumstances, would be to risk all. It is true that, the Slave Power fights against all the principles of civil and religious liberty on which England rests her glory, and all the principles of political economy to which she ascribes her wealth; but in policy, as well as in justice, England must not refuse her countenance to that Power, when it meets her half-way for the reformation of that abuse which England introduced, or adopted and supported.

The men of the South say that, they are fighting for their freedom; but they are really fighting for the freedom to enslave; not for their liberty, but to deprive of liberty millions of their fellow-creatures;—for the liberty to tear away the wife from the husband, the mother from the child;—for the liberty to torture or kill the black father for defending his outraged daughter;—for liberty to the white father to sell his own child in the public market-place;—for liberty to punish as a crime the teaching of boys and girls to read and write;—for liberty to extend that system which makes labor a curse. That is the freedom and the liberty for which the South are fighting against the North. That is the real cause, hidden under the popular cry for independence,

which is no more assailed now than it has been for the last fifty years.

The other and minor differences have always existed, and always must continue as long as legislation is guided by no principle of justice or sound policy, but is left to the chance results of the mastery of violent and conflicting parties ; subject to no control but the will of the People, and that People composed of mixed races of many nations ; without love of country because acknowledging no country ; without loyalty because acknowledging no ruler but themselves ; ignorant because untaught, without high example, and scorning the precepts of experience ; mercenary because absorbed in the selfish pursuit of gain in the midst of unbounded resources ; mean because reckless of consequences ; and cruel by habitual disregard of all the dictates of humanity towards their fellow-creatures whom they have enslaved and brutalized.

To remove these serious defects, so long existing and so deeply fixed, must be a work of time, and the best that can be looked for is but a gradual restoration to a better state. To expect or to require a sudden change for the better, would be to confess great ignorance of the human nature in general, and of the American nature in particular, and would be in effect to declare against

all attempts at mediation, and to leave the parties to complete their work of mutual destruction.

But if now, whilst the contending parties are reeling under their mutually inflicted blows, and staggering under the bewilderment of their mutual losses, the friendly offices of the mediator were to intervene, for a temporary suspension of hostilities; and for restoring calm reason to her seat, there would be much ground for hope that, through the intervention of England and France, moderate and impartial views, on some such terms as here proposed, would be, if not graciously or gratefully, yet gladly received by both parties, and the main question of slavery being thus settled, all minor differences would be, on these terms, at the same time, finally disposed of.

It is hardly possible to suppose that such terms as these would now be rejected by the South, which would be secured in nearly all that it demands, and so much more than it can ever hope to gain by force; and by this time the North must see the hopelessness of its attempt to subjugate the South, or to restore the Union.

Looking at the latest expression of public feeling in the North, which has reached us in the speeches in the House of Representatives, the tone of some of the leading and influential members is much more in unison than formerly with

the actual position of the North, and its sinking cause.

In the communication by the 'Times' Correspondent, from New York, as given in the 'Times Newspaper' for January the 31st, 1863, Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, is reported to have spoken, in the House of Representatives, as follows :

“There is no cause of controversy except Slavery. The agitation of that subject as a political element must cease. We must return to the old Constitution and basis of 50 years ago. There must be a speedy and ready return of all fugitive slaves, and liberty for the transit and temporary sojourn of masters with their slaves in the Free States. This is the price of the Union, and whoever is not willing to pay it must finally declare for separation and disunion. We must stop fighting and agree to an armistice. There need be no formal treaty. Let us withdraw our forces from the seceded States. Let both sides reduce their armies to a peace establishment. Let us then declare absolute free trade between North and South, and agree upon a Zollverein. Let us recall our fleets and break up our blockade. Let us reduce the navy, restore travel, and open up the railways. Let slavery alone, and choose a new President in 1864.”

This is a surrender at discretion. At this price the North never ought to purchase the Union; and on these terms England ought never to acknowledge the separate independence of the South.

If these and sundry other impossibilities were not agreed upon, Mr. Vallandigham "saw nothing before the country but revolution and anarchy." He might and ought to have added that, there was *one* other way of preventing the revolution and anarchy he foresaw, which was simply the acknowledgment of the independence of the South, without further bloodshed. Perhaps he meant this, but dared not say it.

Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, on the other side, replied that, the *only* means by which the Union could be maintained was by force of arms. He would grant nothing to the "rebels." "The millions of people from the rock-bound coast of the North, to the golden gates of the Pacific, were not prepared to lay their faces in the dust, and cry 'Unclean! Unclean!'"

Mr. Wright, a Republican, from Pennsylvania, supported Mr. Bingham, and said: "The idea of laying down arms was monstrous. The men who stood up for the war were dear to their country, and their names would live for ever. These men have the power and the courage, and will put

down the rebellion, in spite of the infernal devils of the South, who are attempting to slay the North and destroy the best Government ever made by God or man." "And," as the Correspondent writes, "so the matter ended; a matter of no importance in itself, because it led and could lead to nothing; but sufficiently interesting to show into what an *impasse* both parties have thrust themselves. They cannot go back. They cannot go forward. They cannot stand still. All they can do is to break down the wall which bars their passage, that wall being the Union and the Constitution which they both affect to revere, but which they both detest for standing in the way of their ulterior purposes."

If the Correspondent be right in this view, there is better hope that the North would not reject the terms here proposed, and there is much encouragement in the words of Mr. Vallandigham about free trade.

The leaders of the Northern Democracy must know by this time that there is no hope for the restoration of the Union; and it is to be hoped that they see in the present time the most favorable opportunity for coming to terms, before they are compelled to submit to further humiliation.

In the meantime the Southern President and press are doing their best to undeceive the enthu-

siasts for the Union. "Our cause," said Mr. Jefferson Davis, on the 3rd of January, at Raleigh, in North Carolina, "is above all personal and political considerations. The new year finds us victorious at every point. Let us all lock shields and stand together, and in the end you will enjoy an amount of prosperity which you never could attain connected with the Yankee nation of extortioners."

The "*Richmond Dispatch*" declares that, "if the whole Yankee race should fall down in the dust to-morrow, and beg of us to be their masters, we would spurn them as slaves. We are fighting for separation; and we will have it. The Yankees are fools enough to believe that a majority of the people of the Confederacy are in favor of re-union. Let them be satisfied that President Davis expressed the sentiments of the entire Confederacy when he said in his speech the other night, that our people would sooner unite with a nation of hyænas than with the detestable and detested Yankee nation. Anything but that. English colonization—French vassalage—Russian serfdom,—each or all would be preferable to any further association with Yankees."

The American people are familiar with, and apt in the use of, what is vulgarly called "strong language," and they are accustomed to express more

than they mean ; but when their acts accord with their language, it is not wise altogether to disregard their expressions.

The Northern and the Southern, and even the North-Western people are beginning to see more clearly the real state of the case ; and “ the small cloud ” is rising in the North-West, which the South are watching, and which the North may wisely watch.

Illinois, it should be remembered, though opposed to negro slavery, is quite as bitterly opposed to the negro himself, and will allow none of the race and color to settle within its boundaries. Mr. Wenger, one of the representatives of that State, in the month of January, 1863, introduced the following resolution :—

“ Resolved by the people of the State of Illinois; through our representatives, that we are in favor of an immediate suspension of hostilities, and commend the holding of a National Convention for an amicable settlement of our difficulties.”

Mr. O'Brien, another representative, introduced two resolutions still more hostile to the Federal Administration :—

“ Resolved, — That the Administration has broken its faith, violated its repeated pledges, deceived the people, betrayed the army, and almost

succeeded in making the restoration of the Union a hopeless impossibility.

“Resolved,—That the Proclamations of Abraham Lincoln, of September 22nd, 1862, and January 1st, 1863, proposing to give freedom to the slaves of the Southern States, on the said 1st day of January, 1863, are alike unconstitutional and contrary to the rule of civilized warfare, calculated to bring shame, disgrace, and eternal infamy upon the hitherto unsullied flag of the Republic, and that Illinois, ever ready and willing to do battle for the Union and the Constitution, will protest against any war which has for its object the execution and enforcement of said Proclamations.”

All these Resolutions have been referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. The mere fact of their introduction, whatever may be their fate, shows the turn of opinion.

Mr. Jefferson Davis calculated upon the time when the great North-West would grow weary of the war, and restive at the stoppage of the Mississippi.

The time seems to have come, if such facts as these may be considered as the straws which truly show the direction of the current.

In the meantime, what is the actual position of the North, broken up into parties, and distracted

by the incoherent ravings of its own partizans? To judge of this, let us take the most recent example in the words of one of their leading men, Mr. Robert J. Walker, who occupied, and it is said with great ability, under President Polk, the post of Secretary of the Treasury, and who is already designated, by public opinion, as the probable successor of Mr. Chase. Incredible as it may seem to English readers, these are the reported words of the man publicly talked of as Mr. Chase's successor in his important and responsible office of Secretary of the Treasury:—

“ Our national finances are involved in extreme peril. Our public debt exceeds 720,000,000 dollars, and is estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 1st of July next, at 1,122,297,403 dollars, and on the 1st of July, 1864, at 1,744,685,586 dollars. *When we reflect that this is nearly one-half the debt of England, and bearing almost double the rate of interest, it is clear that we are approaching a fatal catastrophe.* Nor is this the most alarming symptom. Gold now commands a premium of 32 per cent., [now 54 per cent.] as compared with legal-tender Treasury notes, and with largely augmented issues must rise much higher, with a corresponding increase of our debt and expenditure. Indeed, *should the war continue, and there be no other alternative than*

additional Treasury notes, they will, before the close of the next year, fail to command 40 cents on the dollar in gold, and our debt exceed several billions of dollars. This would result from an immense redundancy and depreciation of currency, and from the alarm created here and in Europe as to the maintenance of the Union and the ultimate solvency of the Government. Indeed, our enemies at home and abroad, the rebels, and their allies in the North and in Europe, already announce impending national bankruptcy and repudiation, and there are many devoted patriots who fear such a catastrophe. *That the danger is imminent is a truth which must not be disguised. Here lies the great peril of the Government. It is not the rebel armies that can ever overthrow the Union. It is the alarming increase of the public debt and expenditure, and the still more appalling depreciation of the national currency, that most imperil the great Republic. . . . We are upon the verge of ruin. We are hanging over the gulf of an irredeemable paper system, and its spectral shade, repudiation, is seen dimly in the dark abyss.* The present Congress may save us; but what of the next? Would they, if they could? Who can answer? Can they, if they would? No! no! it will then be *too late.*”

They must have a very imperfect power of

vision, by whom "*repudiation*" is seen only "*dimly in the dark.*" But what remedy does this clear-sighted Statesman propose for the evil? A diminution of the alarming expenditure? No! A compromise with the South? No! Peace, on any terms consistent with honor and fraternity? No! With the windy wordiness of American eloquence, he says: "*Let no man talk of a separation of the Union in any contingency. Let none speak of peace or compromise with armed treason. Let none think of constructing separate nationalities out of the broken, bleeding fragments of a dismembered Union. No! far better that our wrecked and blasted earth should swing from its orbit, disintegrate into its original atoms, and its place remain for ever vacant in the Universe.*"

This looks very like a bidding by the Ex-Secretary for his old office; but the Yankees are too 'cute a people to be taken in by their own "*rowdy.*" The Ex-Secretary is clear-sighted enough in his view of present financial difficulties, and of the prospective catastrophe, but he is short-sighted for his own object, as Mr. Chase's successor.

But can England be wrong, or open to blame, for giving cautious consideration to her own interests in American affairs, when they are so represented by one of their own leading authorities?

The neutral policy of England has been a wise policy, nor is there any occasion or inducement to depart from it. But that is a timid and unwise policy which sits down quietly under injuries of one sort, from the fear of others rising up of another sort.

It has been strongly urged that England has no right to bring the condition of her own working class into the consideration of the American Question, or to allow any injuries indirectly, and perhaps unavoidably, inflicted on her, as a neutral nation, to influence her conduct in regard to the great principles at issue in this Question.

Whatever force may be in this argument it is much weakened when it comes from men who have never failed, whenever the opportunity offered, to sympathize with rebellion, and to instigate it with a view to their own advantage, not only in Mexico, and in the Colonies of Spain, but also in the British Possessions in Canada.

The conduct of the American Government led to the Mexican war, which terminated in the annexation, as it was called, of a vast portion of that territory now known as Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, with California. This was conceded as the terms of peace, but was, in fact, wrested from the weak and defenceless Government of Mexico, in open violation of all the universally

acknowledged rights of civilized nations, and stands as one of the most flagrant robberies ever committed by one civilized nation against another.

The demands of the American Government on Spain to surrender Cuba by sale and purchase, under threat of seizure by force on refusal, and these demands instigated in Inaugural Addresses and Messages of successive Presidents are historical facts. The several expeditions of armed buccaneers from American Ports, without even the shallow attempt at disguise, for the seizure of Nicaragua from Central America, and of Cuba from Spain, in friendly alliance with the United States, and the needless additional insult of sending as accredited Ambassador to the Court of Madrid an avowed Agent of those freebooters, are historical facts too well known to be disputed, and so far from being disowned, have actually been defended on the ground that Cuba, from its geographical position, ought to belong to the United States.

On the same ground have been justified the several forcible inroads from the United States into the British Possessions in Canada, and all the repeated instigations of the Federal Government to Canadian revolt, which may almost be said to have been unceasing and undisguised down to the present time.

No opportunity of self-aggrandizement, at the cost of friend or foe, has been neglected by the American Government, and on no occasion has that Government expressed any sympathy for the troubles of Great Britain ; not even in that great trouble of the Crimean War, when American sympathy was openly declared for Russia ; or that greater trouble, the Indian Mutiny, which threatened British possessions in the East, though on neither of those occasions could American interests be held to be concerned, otherwise than in the disastrous consequences to British power, and the consequently diminished resources of Great Britain for resisting unjust aggressions.

The conduct of the American Government and People, though it may not deprive them of their claim to sympathy under their present misfortunes, and certainly would not influence, to their prejudice, the conduct of England or France as mediators, is, nevertheless, an answer to those who object to interference, and especially to the American Government and People, if they should so regard the offer of mediation, make it a ground of complaint.

But is it so clear that the conduct of the United States to the British Nation does not justify British interference for the sake of British interests ?

The American Union is dissolved beyond hu-

man power to restore it, nor is it for the interests of the American People, or other nations, that it should be restored. But all Nations are interested in the restoration of peace and good order on the American Continent.

This alone is sufficient ground for the offer of mediation, and for the exercise of all lawful means for carrying into effect that good office.

The separation being an accomplished and irreparable fact, and the division of North and South into two independent Unions being an absolute necessity, the mediation is confined to the simple question of defining and fixing the boundary line between the two Unions, and between the North and Canada. But this last is much more a concession on the part of Great Britain than of the Northern States. The condition prefixed for such concession is fully as much for the interests of the North and the South as for Great Britain and Canada.

In this view, where is the ground of complaint for any party concerned? Why should the North or the South reject the offer of mediation on such terms, confined within such narrow limits, and with such manifest advantages to both?

Each party would be represented by its own Commissioners, and their duty would be little

more than that of paid Surveyors, employed to fix boundary lines between disputing landowners.

The honorable and impartial position of France would be the best guarantee for the honorable and impartial conduct of her Commissioners.

The honorable motives and peaceful views of England would be the best guarantee for the honorable and impartial conduct of her Commissioners, nor could the sufficiency of this guarantee be disputed by Americans who have so frequently and loudly proclaimed the desire of England for peace at any price. And with this acknowledged desire, where could the Umpire be better chosen than in England?

The condition pre-fixed of Free Trade throughout the North American Continent, would be a boon equally to all, and would be also, to their lasting honor, an example which must soon be followed by all other civilized nations.

What is there in this proposal to invite opposition from any quarter?

What treaty can be more binding between Nations than that which is founded on freedom, and recognizes the independent sovereign rights of each?

On such a basis may be expected to arise on the North American Continent three great and

independent nations,—as symbolized in the figure on the frontispiece,—united by the bond of mutual interests which no time can sever, vying with each other only in the rapid race of commercial prosperity, and respected by all nations.

Will the British People be any longer held back by timid caution from attempting to realize this picture?

What are they waiting for?

Why holding back, when France is ready to advance?

Why should not England join with France in the friendly offer of mediation?

Premature.

When will it cease to be premature?

When hundreds of thousands more of precious lives are sacrificed, and the millions of debt have mounted into billions?

This is not urged on the narrow ground of distress in our Cotton Manufacturing interests,—though that is something worth consideration,—but on the broad ground of universal interests.

So far as British interests are concerned, the American civil war, and the consequent Cotton crisis, instead of having yet caused pecuniary loss, has more likely saved the British Nation from a collapse which would probably have followed the previous excess of speculation.

Serious as is the present distress among the operatives, much more serious it would have been if operatives and manufacturers, capitalists and exporters, had been all involved, as most probably they would have been, without the stoppage of the Cotton supplies.

The present distress is severe, but temporary, and nobly has it been met by all people; nor should it be forgotten that among these are the American People, in the midst of their own much greater distress. This noble trial in the American character will be gratefully remembered by the British People, and will be regarded by them as a pledge of their common origin and mutual kindly feelings.

Let the British People offer their mediation as a pledge of their sincere good will and earnest desire to render true service to their American brethren; and let Canada heartily join the Mother Country in this entreaty to their brothers and neighbors to accept the service; and let the voice of all Nations be raised for mediation between a great People expending their best energies, sacrificing their lives and wasting their wealth in a useless struggle.

The voice of the Nations will not be raised in vain, and out of this great evil will arise the greatest good, in the termination of the American

Union, and the establishment of Three Independent Unions in North America.

Whilst these pages are in press, President Lincoln has proclaimed the immediate and unconditional emancipation of Slaves, except in New Orleans and in certain frontier districts occupied by the Federal forces.

This is a strong measure, but strong necessities require strong measures. There never was nor never will be any plan executed or proposed, against which strong and even unanswerable objections may not be urged; so that unless the opposite objections be set in the balance on the other side, we can never advance a step. No course of conduct is altogether free from errors, no legislative scheme is altogether free from defects.

A critic, therefore, who dwells exclusively on the defective points, who does not attempt an impartial investigation of both sides of a question, who does not endeavor to compare the advantages with the disadvantages, and to strike the balance between them, can never be at a loss for finding the means of censure and condemnation. Moreover, a legislative scheme may always be reduced to absurdity by supposing extreme cases, and by assuming that every provision will be executed with mechanical inflexibility, and with-

out regard to ulterior consequences ; suppositions wholly at variance with the truth, and inconsistent with the spirit in which laws are really carried into effect, but which, nevertheless, serve as the substratum of a large part of the objections made to measures of legislation, while they are under discussion.

The fallacy consists in showing that there are objections against some plan, theory, or system, and thence inferring that it should be rejected ; when that which ought to be proved is, that there are more or stronger objections against the receiving than the rejecting it.

This is the remark of Archbishop Whately, who has included the Fallacy of Objections in his enumeration of sophistical modes of reasoning.

That the last Proclamation of the American President will be condemned by many as rash and unjustifiable under any circumstances, is certain.

But whatever may be the risk of doing this act, the question still remains, whether the risk of not doing it be not greater. That, the act is justifiable, cannot be denied in fair argument. Whether or not it be prudent, is another and an open question, and the answer to that question must depend on many circumstances, which, the

parties who have answered it, ought to be best able to determine.

But the answer which has been given, in no way alters the view here taken of the American Question; though it may present the importance of this view in a still more striking light, and show the mediation proposed to be a measure of still more pressing necessity.

That the apprehensions of terrible consequences from the sudden Emancipation of Slaves are unfounded, the result will show. But that it would have been better if emancipation had been gradual can hardly be doubted; better for all concerned, not excepting the slaves themselves. In the hurrying course of events the opportunity of to-day is lost to-morrow, and that which might have been well done yesterday, cannot be done at all to-day.

But if the emergency were so great as to require immediate emancipation, then it would have been better without the hesitation implied in this strange exception. But, done as it is, it is a great event, and should be acknowledged as such by one loud and universal shout of acclamation. Experience shows that great changes are seldom effected gradually, for great changes have generally resulted from sudden revolutions.

By this proclamation the arguments for media-

tion are enforced by the greater urgency of the case, and the responsibility of delay is fearfully increased.

“Tempore quæque suo qui facit, ille sapit.”

Mr. Lincoln has kept his promise.

He has declared the negroes, in the States now at open war with the North, free, except at New Orleans and within the frontier districts occupied by the Federal forces; and he has pledged the Government of the United States to recognize and support the freedom so granted by their naval and military force. From this Proclamation, New Orleans, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maryland, are exempt. Pronounced under other circumstances, and at another time, such a Proclamation as this would have excited more enthusiasm in the whole mind of England. But at the present time, and under present circumstances, this should be hailed in England as the abolition of Slavery in America.

With the motives of the North England has nothing to do.

The act is everything.

It is said in a leading English journal,*—
“The abolition of Slavery is the punishment of rebellion; its retention is the reward of adherence to the Union.” This is hardly fair.

* The ‘Times,’ 15th January, 1863.

The President's Proclamation means simply : —Come back to the Union, and emancipate peaceably on the terms of compensation which I have offered : stay out, and I emancipate without compensation, nor will I protect you from the consequences.

So says Mrs. Beecher Stowe.

This is her interpretation, and this is the right one. "That continuance in the Union is thus understood, is already made manifest by the votes of Missouri and Delaware in the recent elections. Both of these States have given strong majorities for emancipation.

Missouri long tending towards emancipation, has already planted herself firmly on the great rock of freedom, and thrown out her bold and eloquent appeal to the Free States of the North for aid in overcoming the difficulties of her position. Other States will soon follow ; nor is it too much to hope, that before a new year has gone far in its course, the sacred fire of Freedom will have flashed along the whole line of the Border States responsive to the generous proposition of the President and Congress, and that universal emancipation will have become a fixed fact in the American Union." *

It cannot be denied that "the armies of the

* Mrs. H. B. Stowe's Reply, p. 47.

South have gained a clear superiority over the armies of the North," and it may be true that, "it is to redress this balance that the negro is summoned to the conflict." But it is not true that, "in neither case has the friend of humanity any cause to rejoice." There are many in England who will say with Mrs. Beecher Stowe—"Better a generation should die on the battlefield, that their children may grow up in liberty and justice."

The writer of the leading paragraph referred to says:—"The attempt to free the blacks is a flagrant attack on the liberties of the whites."

But what if it be? Was not the more flagrant attack first made by the whites on the liberties of the blacks? Has length of time, or human sanction by legislation, diminished the deep atrocity of that first outrage?

If it be true that, to eradicate the foul blot on the American Constitution, a breach must be made in that Constitution, that concerns the American People, not the People of England, or the Friends of Humanity.

This tardy act of justice to a most injured and oppressed race, may have been "an act avowedly the result of military considerations," but should it, therefore, not be accepted by the Friends of Humanity, and especially by Englishmen who

have ever been the foremost advocates in the cause of Humanity?

The same Journal says:—"Mr. Lincoln bases his act on military necessity, and invokes the considerate judgment of mankind and the judgment of Almighty God."

Was it well done in the leading English Journal, in commenting on that solemn invocation, to "presume to think," and moreover to say, that "He who made man in His own image can scarcely look with approbation on a measure which, under the pretence of emancipation, *intends* to reduce the South to the frightful condition of St. Domingo."

If this anonymous Writer in a public journal "may presume" to measure his own thoughts with the Almighty's, what possible right can this Journalist have to "presume to think" and to say, that the American President and People of the North "*intend* to reduce the South to the frightful condition of St. Domingo"?

On what ground, and with what object, has this writer presumed to insult the American President and People of the North, by attempting to fix upon them this awful opprobrium?

Whence has this Writer derived his right or power to sit in judgment on the intentions of men—and of men in their position?

It is scarcely possible to imagine language more calculated than this is, to exasperate the feelings of the North against the South, and against England also, especially in the present terrible crisis of affairs, and because, of all writers, this is the most influential in leading public opinion in England.

But on this occasion he will fail to lead public opinion in England. He is not the exponent of English feeling on this occasion, and the American President and People of the North may rest assured that, the great majority of the People of England are heartily with them in this Emancipation measure, and heartily join the President in his solemn invocation upon it.

They regret that this measure of justice was not resorted to earlier, and they regret the ex-
cepted States. They regret that the measure has not been carried out more gradually, and by means more gentle. But, nevertheless, they rejoice in the measure for the sake of humanity, and wait with confidence in a happy result, holding in contempt, as utterly groundless, the imaginary terrors of a servile war.

And, lastly, they entreat the whole American People to unite with them in this offer of their mediation on the terms of mutual concessions, forgetting the past, and looking forward hope-

fully to the future, in a new Constitution on the basis of Truth and Justice.

Thus will "a common origin, a common faith, and, we sincerely believe, a common cause"* bind together the North and the South, as two independent nations, in a bond of union made indissoluble by mutual interests, and both strengthened by the virtual annexation of Independent Canada, guaranteed by England and France.

Then will the prayers of the People have been heard and answered "for the removal of a great affliction and disgrace from the Christian world;"† and the name of Harriet Beecher Stowe will stand foremost among the Women of the World in this great cause of humanity, and, with the honored names of Wilberforce and Clarkson, will be handed down, for grateful remembrance, to the most distant posterity.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe shows, in her 'Reply to the Women of England,' that she does not enter fully into English feeling on the American Question; nor is it to be expected that she should.

So far as Slavery is concerned, English feeling may be said to be unanimous against it.

But it has not been clearly seen in England, that the extinction of Slavery is one of the issues in the pending Question between the Northern

* Mrs. Beecher Stowe's 'Reply,' p. 62. † *Ibid.*, p. 63.

and the Southern Powers of America, or that it is really more desired by the North, than by the South.

Mr. Lincoln,—who is always honest and sincere, and knows exactly what he means, when he says it,—has said :—“ My business and desire is to uphold the Union. I will do whatever I deem best for that purpose. If the Union can be best secured by emancipating the slaves, I will emancipate them. If by emancipating some, and retaining the others in thralldom, I will do that. If by keeping them all in slavery, *then I will do that.*”

After this it is difficult to deny that the North are fighting only to restore the Union, and to establish their dominion over an unwilling people. This is not to fight in the cause of freedom, or to show any particular interest in the slave.

From first to last Mr. Lincoln has applied himself, with meritorious simplicity, honesty, and patience, to the difficult problem before him, but he has declared in the plainest terms that, he would deal with the negroes, and act for or against them, precisely as he might think would be, not the most just towards them, but most conducive to the restoration of the Union. And so he did when he annulled the unauthorized announcements of Fremont and Hunter for the partial emancipation

and arming of the slaves in the quarters in which they had penetrated ; though shortly afterwards he himself, by Proclamation, announced the very plan which he had so lately and imperatively condemned.

How far the recent tardy measure of President Lincoln may remove the distrust which has certainly existed to a great extent throughout Great Britain on this part of the question, it is now difficult to say, so many other considerations having been, in the meantime, unfortunately let in to the prejudice of this first and most important question of slavery ; nor is it lost sight of in England that, the Constitution gives the President no authority whatever to issue such a decree as the Emancipation Proclamation ; and that, such decree, in its legal effect, is simply null and void. The President, as head of the Army, can have no legal authority to decree by Proclamation the emancipation of negroes in the Southern States, which Congress itself had no power to touch. The authority of the President over the Army, can be no authority to disobey or supersede the laws of the country. Neither can the authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army be an authority to the President, as Chief Civil Magistrate, to convert into a military offence any act which may be construed into " a disloyal practice."

Judge Curtis, who is reputed the highest living authority on American Constitutional Law, says:—
“These edicts spring from an assumed power to extend martial law over the whole territory of the United States—a power, for the exercise of which there is no warrant whatever in the Constitution—a power which no free people could confer upon an executive officer, and remain a free people.” *

“The Federal Congress, being by the terms of the Constitution a limited and not a sovereign Power, has only aggravated the illegality of these violations of the Federal Compact by adopting them. It would seem that the old Constitution of 1789 can only be defended by measures which destroy it.” †

As a measure of war policy, this may gain for the President the more active and cordial co-operation of the Abolitionist party, but they are not a very numerous party in America, neither are they, for the President, a very reliable party, because their object and his are avowedly distinct, and only accidentally, not necessarily, connected.

They would sacrifice the Union to abolish slavery.

He would perpetuate slavery to restore the Union.

* Curtis, p. 30.

† Edinburgh Review, for January, 1863, p. 296.

Therefore, they can act steadily or loyally together only so long as abolition measures offer, or are thought to offer, the best chance of subjugating and reannexing the South.

The great majority of the people in the North are no friends to emancipation,—no partizans of the negro.

They may ultimately consent to go in for abolition, but they will do so only as their last resource, and as an evil only less than acknowledging the independence of the South.

These considerations, no doubt, affect the British mind.

That a great portion of the sympathy of the British People has been transferred from the Northern to the Southern party cannot be denied. But it is a great mistake to attribute any portion of that change to diminished interest in the question of slavery. That change is to be attributed to distrust in the Northern party, greatly increased by their own avowed principles and declared intentions, those principles being as indifferent to the question of slavery, as their intentions are hostile to the interests of Great Britain. It may be a painful truth to the North, but it is an unquestionable fact in England, that the incessant and unprovoked attacks against Great Britain, not only by the New York Journals, but by the

high Government officials, accompanied with threats not only of an invasion of Canada, but of a war with England, have produced a great change in the British Public mind, unfavorable to the North, and unfavorable to the continuance of the Union with the South. The Government and People of the North have presented the question of the restoration of the Union in a new light, and in no other light will the People of England now be induced to view it.

Distrusting the North on the question of Slavery, on their own avowed principles, and still more distrusting them on their own declared intentions, hostile to British interests, the mischief has been done beyond repair, for restoring the Union by British help or intervention.

Nothing is more certain than that British help or intervention will never be extended for any such object.

On this question, British feeling may be taken as unanimous.

If ever the desire existed with the British People for the restoration of the American Union, most certainly any such desire is now gone for ever.

That the noble attitude of the South has had something to do with this change of feeling, cannot be denied. But if British sympathy be now

divided between the North and the South, British sympathy for the Slave, and British execration against the cherished institution of the South, are in no degree diminished.

The American People may be assured that this is the true state of public feeling in Great Britain.

But if the American People would be wise in time, and learn from the irreparable past, the mischief, great as it is, may yet be turned to greater good.

On the basis of Emancipation, the People of the North have with them the whole of the British People.

On the recognition of the Independence of the South, the People of the North have with them the whole of the British People.

On the admission of the principle of Free Trade, the People of the North have with them the whole of the British People.

On these terms the North and the South are at once two great and independent Nations, guaranteed in their independent sovereignties by England and France, and, as such, at once acknowledged by all the Nations of the World.

It will then only remain to fix the boundary line between the Northern and the Southern Unions, and to straighten the boundary line between Canada and the Northern State of Maine,

for the convenience of Canada, as a third independent Union of North America, all united in one common interest.

For this the sympathy and power of Great Britain is with the North, and all that is required is the assent of the North.

The assent of the South must follow, for then the South would be powerless.

With the assent of the South, British sympathy and power would be with both, and the civil war with all its horrors would be at an end.

But, for these ends the value of time present can hardly be over estimated. More delay will, probably, bring more changes, and more complications.

When the North and the South are both prostrate from exhaustion, the West will arise, and in the freshness of its power will declare the independence of a Western Union. This may be answered in the East, by the proclamation of an Eastern Union; and thus may pass away for ever the glory of the United States of America, split up into many comparatively small Unions, but united by no common interests, and each a perpetual scourge and object of jealousy to the other; thus, to use their own familiar expression, *whipping* each other with lashes of their own making, and turning their 'Stars and Stripes' into scars and

strips of cow-hide, as symbols for the scorn and contempt of all Nations.

This is before the American People, and not so far off as they may think. This is not said to aggravate them, but to present to their sober view their true position, with all its dangers, and the incalculable importance of present time.

That there are many now in England who would rejoice to see the United States of America broken up into many insignificant States cannot be denied. But this is not the feeling of influential and reflecting men in England, who attach much less importance to the blunders of American Statesmen, and no importance at all to the foolish invectives so plentifully poured forth against "the Britishers" by the American newspapers, many of these being conducted, especially at New York, by renegade Irishmen, and a very low class of ignorant "Yankee rowdies."

By reflecting men in England, the establishment on a sound basis of three independent and powerful nations in North America, would be hailed as a glorious event in the world's history, and British Statesmen are too enlightened to let such an opportunity be lost for want of their support.

But there are many enlightened men among us who, with due respect for the claims of a

People now struggling with great difficulties, and with due deference to international law, have arrived at the conclusion that the conduct of the European Powers, and of England in particular, ought to be governed, not by any extreme consideration for either party in the American States, not by any imaginary restriction of law, or sympathy, but by the true interest of our own fellow-subjects.

There are many among us who hold that the war between the contending parties has continued long enough to allow us full liberty of action for the protection of our own interests, and that whatever be the result of the struggle, it *cannot* restore the Union. For all practical purposes, as regards the Southern States, the Union has ceased to exist.

But Europe has many and great interests in the South, and has a good right to consider how these may be best protected, and her rights enforced. An appeal to the Government at Washington against an outrage in the South would be an absurdity. Even the Federal Treaties can no longer be enforced in Southern ports, where foreign Consuls have now no more than a nominal authority. It is only by direct intercourse with the rulers of the South that these necessary conditions of daily political life can be renewed.

This state of things cannot be allowed to continue much longer. A population of eight or ten millions, inhabiting a vast maritime territory, cannot be obliterated, or treated as nothing. "Quite independently of any feeling for either side in this quarrel, and without any hostility to the North, the time is approaching [has arrived] when our relations with both fractions of the country must be placed on the same footing. Our policy ought not to be governed either by sympathy or by hostility to either party, but by the plain and legitimate interest of the Nation which is confided to the Ministers of the Crown." *

The same writer so well describes the true position of the Federal Government with Foreign Nations, that it will be best given in his own words:—"As long as the Union existed, the Federal Government represented it abroad. We are now fairly warned by at least a third of the States that the Federal Government no longer represents them; therefore we fall back on the States themselves, which are political units, or on such other combinations as they may form. We can neither judge of their motives nor control their action. They originally combined in spite of us; they now divide in spite of themselves. Foreign nations can only accept the result, however they

* Edinburgh Review, for January, 1863, p. 303.

may deplore the cause of so much destruction, lawlessness, and bloodshed. The right of protecting our own national interests is quite enough to justify any step which it may now be expedient to take; and although we have not gained much credit for it in America, we take leave to add that the forbearance and respect for the rights of others which has led the people of this country to submit in unbroken patience to a very questionable blockade of most disastrous effect on our own industry, and to endure a variety of other petty insults, are without a precedent in history." *

The question, then, for foreign nations, is not one of principle, but of expediency. It is simply, whether the time be come to do what, it is pretty clear, must sooner or later be done. But, on the other hand, it would be in the highest degree cruel and impolitic to provoke a war between this country and either fraction of America, for objects which do not directly concern us. No substantial benefit would arise either to ourselves or to the belligerents by a nominal recognition of a State, with which we cannot even communicate by the post; and, possibly, the threat of foreign intervention would at once band all parties together to resist an external foe. If we have no ground for assailing the North, still less ground

* Edinburgh Review, for January, 1863, p. 304.

have we for befriending the South. The mere recognition of the South would not raise the blockade, and the establishment of diplomatic relations would not be easily effected with a country thus cut off from the rest of mankind.

All these, given by the writer in the *Edinburgh Review* as reasons against forcible intervention, are undisputed,—but none of these are reasons against the proposal of friendly mediation.

The proposal by France for an Armistice, with a view to mediation, is perfectly consistent with all these reasons for pursuing an amicable policy.

That proposal has been followed up by another temperate and judicious despatch, addressed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to M. Mercier, the French Minister at Washington, dated the 9th January, 1863, a translation of which appeared in the '*Times*' of the 29th of the same month. That second despatch carries with it the strongest expression of friendly feeling to both sides on the part of the French Government. It reiterates the friendly offer of mediation, and recommends its sound advice in the most temperate and persuasive terms, and with the most tender care avoids any expression which can possibly be construed into interference, or be calculated to aggravate angry feelings between the exasperated parties.

If the British Government would now address to its representative at Washington a similar communication, there is every reason to hope that the combined persuasion of the two great European Powers would not be without good effect. We can truly say with France: "We cannot look without deep regret upon a war which is more than a civil war, and which may be compared to the most terrible feuds of the ancient republics, the disasters of which multiply in proportion to the resources and to the courage displayed by both belligerent parties."

The time must come when the Government of Mr. Lincoln will accept an interposition, in which the independence of the South must form a basis. This fact must annihilate the cause and confound the policy of the North. "To accept it will be to acknowledge that hundreds of thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of money have been expended in vain; and that the white population of the Southern States cannot be enslaved in order that the blacks may be freed. Painful as these truths are to the pride of the Northern States, the time will come when the cry of humanity itself and the interests of the world will compel all the civilized Powers of Europe to assert them." But these truths render it the more imperative on the British Government to protest

against the continuance of the frightful and hopeless contest, and to endeavor to terminate it by joining the French Government in its offer of mediation.

With more effect would such an offer now come from the British Government, if accompanied with the terms, or the principle of the terms, here proposed ; and under no circumstances could such a step involve this country in any serious consequences.

The Writer respectfully submits these pages to the deliberate consideration of the American People, as alone responsible for the awful consequences at stake ; and he invites the serious attention of the British Public to the American Question as here presented, that the popular mind, properly directed, may help to guide aright the Councils of the British Government on this momentous occasion.

5th February, 1863.

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